

# THE Anti-Slavery Reporter.

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British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.

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# The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

[The Editor, whilst grateful to all correspondents who may be kind enough to furnish him with information, desires to state that he is not responsible for the views stated by them, nor for quotations which may be inserted from other journals. The object of the REPORTER is to spread information, and articles are necessarily quoted which may contain views or statements for which their authors can alone be held responsible.]

## ANNUAL SUMMARY.

**1891.**

WITH hopeful feelings we last year commenced our *Anti-Slavery Summary* with the good news that the Government of the Netherlands, after an opposition lasting for a period of nearly six months, had signalised the closing of the year 1889 by attaching its signature to

### The General Act of the Brussels Conference.

The only subsequent formality necessary to enable the Act to become law was its ratification by the Powers who had signed, and the latest date fixed for this important final step was the 1st July, 1891.

#### . HOSTILE ACTION OF FRANCE.

Strange to say, however, a new and more powerful adversary now appeared in the field, and for a time it seemed as though all the anxious and difficult labour of the Brussels Conference, which had been protracted over a period of more than twelve months, would be brought to nought by the hostile action of France.

The question of the ratification of the General Act was brought before the French Chamber of Deputies on the 24th June, 1891, and the cry was raised that the right of search would violate the honour of the French flag. That this was only a pretext to carry votes was perfectly evident from the



speeches of some of the Deputies, who pointed out that, in reality, the right of search did not enter into the question, as France had already refused her consent to this measure, and the only right claimed in the General Act was the verification of papers—a right which France had admitted years ago. A report of this animated debate appeared in the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* for July and August, 1891, and need not be reproduced here. An eloquent speech by M. RIBOT, Minister for Foreign Affairs, concluded with the following earnest appeal to the Chamber :—

“France had gone to the Brussels Congress in a spirit of disinterestedness. The Congress dealt only with a work of humanity and civilisation, and the Brussels Act in no way sanctioned the right of search which France would never accept. The law of nations, however, allowed the verification of the genuineness of a flag, and the Brussels Act added nothing to this. It merely established a zone in which vessels might be visited in order to ascertain whether their papers were in order, and if these were found to be correct, the cruisers detailed for this service could not take any further action. The negotiators recognised that this was all that was meant by the Brussels Act, and the rights of France were therefore in no way interfered with.

\* \* \* People always speak as if we were in the presence only of England. I do not know whether it was adroit to comprise all the objections in a dialogue with a single nation. It is not only in the presence of England, but before all Europe, that we are placed, and this includes those nations which by their affinities and general political position are least disposed to making any very great concessions to England. How does it happen that all these nations—Russia, as well as Germany and Italy—have given their signature and maintain it? Is it not true that, without laying much store by conventions of this sort, which are too often only fruitless acts if the measures do not corroborate them, the nations have learned that on the whole the plans presented to them are consistent with humanity and progress? The whole world has desired to contribute something of its generosity and power to the destruction of this horrible leprosy of Slavery. France, which in 1794, as we remember, gave the signal for the abolition of Slavery, and which has always upheld the flag of progress and of disinterested enthusiasm while other nations have been partisan or selfish—is France going to refuse its signature and detach itself from all other civilised nations?”

#### REJECTION OF RATIFICATION BY THE CHAMBER.

The debate, which extended over two days, was carried on with much animation, and, in spite of the explanations of M. RIBOT and of M. SPULLER, a former Foreign Minister, the



Deputies were carried away with the erroneous idea, started by M. FELIX FAURE, and supported by others, that England was exacting from France a submission to the right of search, and, on a division, the Bill was referred back to the Government by 439 votes to 104. This was equivalent to a refusal to ratify, as the time would expire in a few days, and the debate was closed. General disappointment was felt, but not despair, for the Brussels Conference had already passed through several severe crises, and had survived them all.

#### PROTESTS AGAINST THE ACTION OF FRANCE.

His Eminence CARDINAL LAVIGERIE lost no time in telegraphing his remonstrances, and a meeting of the French Anti-Slavery Society was convened, which drew up a strong letter of protest to M. RIBOT, which was presented to him by Bishop BRINCAT, director of the work in Paris, on July 1st, 1891.

THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY also forwarded a strong protest, pointing out that the *Right of Search*, which had so excited and carried away the Chamber, only applied to those nations that had already allowed such right, and that France was not asked to submit to it in any way. All that was required from her was liberty to verify papers of vessels carrying her flag, and this right already existed by the law of nations, and she could not escape it, whether she ratified the General Act or not.

Bishop BRINCAT, in replying to the Society's protest, said :—

“There is, obviously, in this dispute a misunderstanding, for our Minister of Foreign Affairs has declared in Parliament that it is not a question of France recognizing a right of search on vessels bearing her flag, but only a right of verifying the ship's papers within a specified area, and upon boats of so small a tonnage that there could be, practically, no doubt about their being native craft. We must, therefore, hope that a more enlightened opinion will not, on account of a simple mistake, endanger a work which will immortalize for ever the Powers that have accomplished it.”

This was the view always taken by the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, for we maintained that, in a question of humanity which had been raised and carried out by the whole civilized world, no

single Power was strong enough to defy such an expression of public opinion, and that France, and any Power following her example, would have to conform to the will of the majority.

#### EXTENSION OF THE DATE FOR RATIFICATION.

The first step was taken on the 2nd of July, when the Plenipotentiaries of all the Powers signatory to the General Act of the Brussels Conference, with the exception of those of France and Portugal, reassembled in Brussels. The following ratifications were deposited, viz. :—Belgium, Germany, Denmark, Spain, the Congo State, Great Britain, Italy, Holland, Persia, Russia, Sweden, and Zanzibar. The ratifications of Austria and Turkey arrived in Brussels a few days after. Those from the United States had not yet been received, the Senate having suspended their ratification, whilst Portugal apparently awaited the final decision of France. The representatives of the Powers agreed to an extension of the period originally fixed for the exchange of the ratifications.

For many months nothing further was heard of the matter, the French Chamber having been prorogued.

*(Early in the present year, 1892, both France and the United States of America, ratified the General Act.)*

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#### Zanzibar.

IN our former Summary it was stated that England had assumed a protectorate over Zanzibar, and soon afterwards Colonel Sir CHARLES EUAN-SMITH was transferred from that place to Morocco, as Her Majesty's Minister Plenipotentiary, in place of Sir WILLIAM KIRBY GREEN, lately deceased. No very startling changes have occurred in Zanzibar, although we believe Mr. GERARD PORTAL, who now represents England at the Court of the Sultan, is anxious to see the proper carrying out of the Proclamation issued by the Sultan on August 1st, 1890, for the suppression of the Slave-trade and the gradual extinction of Slavery. Unfortunately, his hands are in some measure tied, for the Sultan was induced to issue a second short edict,

on August 9th, 1890, partly neutralising his former proclamation; and a third and still shorter one, on the 20th August, 1890, entirely cancelling the privilege given to the Slaves to purchase or work out their redemption. Therefore, things remain very much in the position they were in before the issuing of the first edict, which we hailed with so much pleasure, and this is not very creditable to us as a nation, seeing that Zanzibar is under our protection. It is clear that Oriental Anti-Slavery proclamations are not worth the paper upon which they are written, and nothing but a resolute determination on the part of England to have *the legal status of Slavery abolished* throughout the dominions of the SULTAN OF ZANZIBAR can put a stop to the traffic in human beings, which has become a second nature to the Arabs and others who profit by it. No half measures or attempts to let Slaves buy themselves off will answer the purpose, as the methods of evasion in those countries are endless.

### The Hiring of Slaves by Officials.

THE ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY has received undoubted evidence that the great majority of porters hired in Zanzibar by travellers, explorers, and others, are Slaves. There are very few free men available for such work, and the Society has always protested against this system as one of the most direct encouragements of the Slave-trade. It did so in the case of Mr. H. M. STANLEY, and thereby incurred the strong displeasure of the renowned traveller, although the fact was undoubted that most of his carriers were Slaves, and that a great part of the wages of the few wretched survivors had to be paid to their masters, thus enabling them to purchase more raw Slaves.

When, in June last, *The Times*, and other newspapers, published statements that Mr. Commissioner JOHNSTON and Lieutenant STAIRS were seeking to engage large numbers of porters in Zanzibar, the Society felt it right to publish a statement showing that the Government, as far back as 1841, had denounced the employment of Slave labour by any British official, and calling upon Her Majesty's Minister for Foreign



Affairs to take steps to see that this policy was faithfully carried out in Zanzibar, where the carriers are mostly Slaves. A copy of this statement, with letter to LORD SALISBURY, may be found in the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* for July and August, 1891. Whether Mr. JOHNSTON and Lieutenant STAIRS engaged all the men they required does not appear ; but probably they were unable to do so, as a telegram from Zanzibar early in September was published in *The Times*, stating that owing to the great demand for porters, and the short supply, the Sultan and Mr. PORTAL had issued a decree forbidding the recruiting of Slaves, coolies, and porters in the Sultan's dominions for service outside those dominions ; and this we hail as a healthy sign that Slave labour is becoming more difficult to obtain, owing to the restrictions put upon the trade—even Indian labour being desired for clove picking during the season !

### Eastern and Central Africa.

THERE is little to be said respecting Africa under European spheres of influence in the past year. Certainly there is no great development to record. In Uganda Captain LUGARD is holding his own, on behalf of the Imperial British East Africa Company, although at one time he was ordered to withdraw. This calamity was fortunately averted by the timely assistance of philanthropic capitalists, who raised the large sum requisite to enable Captain LUGARD to maintain his position on the Victoria Nyanza. The placing of a steamer on the lake would appear to be an almost equal necessity for any permanent good to be effected in that country.

GERMAN EAST AFRICA remains in much the same condition as when we last wrote. Various changes have been made in the official staff, but no great successes have been achieved, and EMIN PASHA appears to have gone off, on an expedition of his own, to his old country round Wadelai.

That the German Emperor is deeply interested in the welfare of Africa, and confident of ultimate success in the movement making by Germany and England, in their respective spheres, is evident from the firm tone of the reply given by

His Imperial Majesty to the Deputation from the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, which had the honour to be received by him at Buckingham Palace in July last, but which did not attempt to disguise the fact that the Slave-trade would not be suppressed without further severe struggles with the Slave raiders. The Society took the opportunity in its address of urging the encouragement of free labour, which is the policy it has always urged upon British subjects in countries where Slavery exists, and this portion of the address to His Majesty was favourably commented on by a leader in *The Times* of that date. This policy forms one of the fundamental principles of the Society, from which it could never consistently deviate.

### **The Congo Free State and West Africa.**

THE past year has brought no news of very great importance from this portion of Africa. The Congo railway has not yet been built, nor does the labour question appear to be satisfactorily settled. Until the railway is finished trade can hardly assume the large proportions expected from it by its Royal and philanthropic founder; but we believe that considerable progress has been made in exploring the country on both sides of the great river, which will ultimately lead to the increase of both export and import trade. From the West Coast we have heard various accounts of troubles with the natives, and one French expedition has suffered severely. The kingdom of Dahomey keeps its usual position in the van, by revolting and horrible massacres of neighbouring tribes, if there is any truth in the ghastly story brought by a Catholic missionary lately arrived from that country, that over 10,000 persons were to be slaughtered at the approaching burial customs in honour of the late king. Report also states that the King of Dahomey carries on Slave raiding on a large scale, and that some of the Slaves are destined to work for the subjects of one or more European Powers.

### **Morocco.**

THE Slave-trade and Slavery exist in Morocco in much the same form as when we last issued a report upon that country.

A Deputation from the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society*, consisting of Mr. HENRY GURNEY, one of the Committee, and Mr. CHARLES H. ALLEN, Secretary, left London in December last to visit Northern Africa, including Tripoli, Tunis, Algiers, and Morocco, and as the report of their journey will appear at the same time as this Summary, in another column, it is unnecessary to repeat it here.

### Queensland.

IN the September number of the *Reporter* we called attention to reported outrages on Queensland aborigines, and published what purported to be a Slave-map of Australia. These were taken from an extraordinary book called "*The Black Police: A Story of Modern Australia*," and would not have been referred to here, since the matter we published more properly belongs to the *Aborigines Protection Society*, which has undertaken to deal with it, but that we are threatened with a further development of the Slave question in Queensland. This arises from an extraordinary change of policy on the part of the Prime Minister, Mr. GRIFFITH, who, after strongly setting his face against the introduction of Polynesian labour (Kanakas), has suddenly turned round and proposed the introduction of a measure for bringing Kanakas once more into Queensland, for the use of the sugar planters. We believe that this measure will require the consent of the English Government before it can become law, should it be passed by the Queensland Parliament, and it will be the duty of the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY to oppose the re-introduction of Kanakas by every means in its power.

### Gootoo and Inyokwana.

*Two little boys rescued from Slavery.*

THE ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY was called upon to interfere in the case of two little African boys who had been brought to England, and were stated to be in danger of being taken back into Slavery. The account of the proceedings in the High Court of Chancery has already been published in a separate form, and there is no occasion to allude further to the subject



than to remind friends of the cause that the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY was compelled by its position, as the protector of Slaves brought to England, to incur the considerable expense that was required to make these poor little waifs Wards of Court. The case may possibly prove to be one of great importance at some future time, as it re-establishes, as a fact, the dictum of which England has so long been proud, that any Slave touching her shores not only becomes free, but cannot again be reduced to a state of Slavery, except by his own consent.

### Legacies.

No legacies have been announced or received during the year 1891.

### Obituary.

THE year 1891 has been very fatal to public and private friends of the Society.

G. W. ALEXANDER, formerly Treasurer of the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, who, although he died at the end of 1890, is included in the present list.

EARL GRANVILLE, a steadfast friend of the Anti-Slavery cause, *ob.* 31st March.

CHARLOTTE STURGE, Treasurer of the Bristol Branch, and sister of the Secretary of the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, *ob.* 12th March.

JOSEPH BECK, C.C., through whom the Society obtained a grant of £100 from the Corporation of the City of London, *ob.* 18th April.

REV. WM. TEALL, of Jamaica, father of the Assistant Secretary, and a good worker in the cause, *ob.* 5th April.

SIR R. N. FOWLER, BART., M.P., who, when Lord Mayor of London, granted the use of the Guildhall for the Jubilee Meeting of the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, *ob.* 22nd May.

REV. JACOB MILLS, born a Slave, and died, at the age of 91, after a long and honoured course, as a Christian Minister in the United States.

MRS. JOHN CLARK, a noted Abolitionist in Jamaica before the abolition of Slavery, *ob.* 6th July.

THE EMPEROR OF BRAZIL, whose name will ever be associated with the abolition of Slavery in that Empire, to which important event may probably be ascribed the loss of his Imperial crown, *ob.* 5th December.

MR. HENRY J. CATFORD, of the Peace Society, *ob.* April, 1891.

## The Hiring of Slaves by British Officials.

UNDER this heading the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY last year published a STATEMENT protesting against the hiring of Slaves by any British official, and cited letters from LORD PALMERSTON and EARL RUSSELL prohibiting the use of Slave labour by any officer under the British Crown. From information received from the daily press, from private letters, and other sources, the Society had reason to believe that both Mr. Commissioner H. H. JOHNSTON and Lieutenant STAIRS were seeking to enlist several hundreds of porters in Zanzibar for the purposes of their contemplated expeditions into Central Africa. Knowing that *free* labour was very difficult, if not impossible, to obtain in that island, the Committee, through one of its Members, Mr. ALFRED E. PEASE, M.P., put questions in the House of Commons to the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs upon this subject. One of the answers of Sir JAMES FERGUSSON stated that, "There is no regulation against the engagement of Slaves as porters, provided the contracts are made direct with them, nor would it seem desirable to deprive Slaves of the advantage of free labour under European leaders."

As this answer was not in agreement with the former policy of the British Government, as pronounced by LORD PALMERSTON, in 1841 and 1846, by LORD CLARENDON, in 1853, and by EARL RUSSELL, in 1862, the Committee felt justified in issuing and publishing the STATEMENT above referred to.

This action of the Committee appears to have given great umbrage to Mr. Commissioner H. H. JOHNSTON, who forwarded to the MARQUIS OF SALISBURY the following indignant letter, repudiating what he calls an unfounded calumny :—

ZOMBA, November 24, 1891.

MY LORD,—I have been much annoyed at an unfounded calumny which has been industriously circulated by the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, to the effect that I engaged Slaves at Zanzibar for my porters and police force. The Society in question put this false statement in circulation by a letter addressed to your Lordship, to which they gave prominence and publicity by communicating its contents to *The Times* and other daily papers.

I desire to emphatically deny the truth of this report. In the first place, I only engaged 130 men at Zanzibar, of whom ten were Somalis (and whoever heard of Somalis being Slaves?), thirteen were soldiers taken from active service in the Zanzibar army and specially selected for service in the British Central African police by His Highness the Sultan himself, two were Goanese cooks, two Arab clerks, 21 were ex-Sidi boys who had served in Her Majesty's navy, and whom I obtained through the kindness of Captain HENDERSON, of Her Majesty's ship *Conquest*, and the remaining 82 were carefully chosen men who were either personally known to me from having travelled with me on the Congo River, on the Kilimanjaro Expedition, or on my former journey to Tanganyika (1889-90), or else were men specially recommended by the members of the Consular staff, or the clerks and interpreters in the Consular Court of Her Majesty's Agency at Zanzibar.

All these men above enumerated were free men. They were engaged, with all due formalities, before Her Majesty's Acting Consul-General, Lieutenant C. S. SMITH, who questioned them closely as to their *status* and antecedents.

Further, before being embarked, they were all passed in review by His Highness the SULTAN OF ZANZIBAR, and no question was raised by any one as to their being other than free agents<sup>o</sup> and free men.

I think the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY should be called upon to give the authority and the evidence on which they have ventured to make public charges intended by them to reflect adversely on my character as a British official.

I have, &c.,

H. H. JOHNSTON, Her Majesty's Commissioner.

The MARQUIS OF SALISBURY, K.G., &c.

<sup>o</sup> Unless it be the thirteen soldiers from the Zanzibar army, who simply received and obeyed an order to proceed in service to Nyassaland.

#### REPLY OF THE COMMITTEE TO MR. JOHNSTON'S PROTEST.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE MARQUIS OF SALISBURY.

MY LORD,—I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of your Lordship's letter of 4th inst., enclosing one from Mr. Commissioner JOHNSTON, in which he denies categorically that any Slaves were engaged by him as porters in his recent expedition from Zanzibar.

This letter has been laid before my Committee, and I am to inform your Lordship that satisfaction was expressed at the statement made by Mr. JOHNSTON. I am to observe, however, that it was on no light authority that the Society was prompted to publish its protest against the employment of Slaves by British Officials, to which Mr. JOHNSTON takes exception.

It is only necessary to refer to the notoriety given in the public press at the time to the engagement of Slaves by Mr. H. H. JOHNSTON, confirmed in our own case by private information from Zanzibar.

The fact that Slaves could be engaged in Zanzibar was admitted in the answer given by Sir J. FERGUSSON to Mr. A. E. PEASE in the House of Commons on June 1st, in which he stated that "there is no regulation against the engagement of Slaves as porters, provided that contracts are made direct with them, nor would it seem desirable to deprive Slaves of the advantage of free labour under European leaders."

It was to this statement on behalf of the Government that Slaves might be hired in Zanzibar, provided the contract was made with the Slaves themselves, and not with their masters, that the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY took exception by the issuing of the statement complained of by Mr. JOHNSTON. The Committee are informed that in all such cases the master receives a large honorarium, which enables him to purchase raw Slaves, thus giving a stimulus to the Slave-trade.

On behalf of the Committee,

I have the honour to be,

Your Lordship's faithful Servant,

CHAS. H. ALLEN,

55, New Broad Street,

February 9, 1892.

Secretary.

A MISSIONARY, writing from Lake Tanganyika, under date August, 1891, to the Editor of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, comments upon the action taken by the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY against the employment of Slave labour.



It is quite clear that the Society was fully justified in protesting, as it did, against the hiring of Slaves, for, until quite lately, even Christian Missionaries did not scruple to employ such labour. Mr. Commissioner JOHNSTON's indignant protest against the action of the Society reads somewhat oddly, in the light thrown upon the subject by the letter of the Missionary quoted below, which must have travelled by the same mail as Mr. JOHNSTON's letter. We hear now, on the best authority, that the term employed for a free man in Zanzibar, as often as not, means a Slave, and it is very difficult for any one hiring porters in Zanzibar to know whether all his men are free or not. No doubt, from what our informant states, the Hindu merchants are more or less mixed up with this business, and with them our Government ought surely to be able to deal, even though the Arabs may still defy our interference.

"THE HIRING OF SLAVE LABOUR FOR CONGO RIVER STATION, ETC."

"You are here, I am glad to say, on the right tack. I have had considerable experience of this sort of polite winking at domestic Slavery.

"In 1882 I was an officer in a caravan of over 900 Wangwana, hired from Zanzibar, and again, in 1888, commanded a party of 250 from Zanzibar to Ujiji. These men, and even the head men, were all Slaves, or with very few exceptions. They are collected by agents from the town, paid two months' advance (\$10), and shut up until the dhow is ready to ferry them over—their masters receive a portion, and in most cases all this advance. As Missionary Societies, as well as travellers, were always demanding porters for the interior, it created a splendid market. Arabs would engage their Slaves, get the advance, allow them to travel a few days into the interior and desert, only to rejoin another caravan at Zanzibar, and so on!

"I have had great numbers of men who went to the Congo, and for any one to say they were not Slaves is simply gross ignorance of Zanzibar life.

"As a member of a Missionary Society, I plead guilty to encouraging this evil by providing for them. However, since 1888, our Society has dismissed every Zanzibar man from its stations on Tanganyika, and, by using the Nyassa route, has destroyed what was a great evil in Central African work.

"If you can get this hiring of Slaves from Zanzibar stopped, it will, I am sure, eradicate a great evil; and, although some one may tell you the term *Mgwana* means a 'free man,' it is in reality quite the opposite in daily life. . . . Slavery is doomed, and dying fast. Where a few years ago thousands of Slaves passed my door every year *en route* for the coast, now they are reduced to hundreds, and fast becoming a non-paying article of trade. By education and trade the natives here are fast getting to that stage when men look around and claim freedom as a birthright, and this, after all, is the only cure for Slavery.

"I trust you will excuse the liberty of detaining you so long, but as I have long since given my life to the snapping of the cruel chain which binds my fellows in Slavery, I could not refrain from writing.

"In conclusion, let me say, if you would turn your attention to the rich Hindis at Zanzibar, who *advance* thousands to the Arabs, to carry on their work here, you would perhaps strike a more vital part of this horrid system than you imagine, and bring to account the subjects of our Queen who disgrace our name."

A copy of the above extract was subsequently forwarded to LORD SALISBURY.

## Zanzibar.

### ANTI-SLAVE-TRADE PROCLAMATIONS.

THE issuing by the Sultan of a Proclamation on August 1st, 1890, "confirming all former Decrees and Ordinances made by our predecessors against Slavery and the Slave-trade," was hailed by the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY with feelings of great satisfaction, and we published in the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* a copy of the Proclamation in English and Arabic. Some feelings of doubt as to the sincerity of the Zanzibar authorities with regard to the carrying out of this Proclamation were caused by the issuing, on the 9th August, 1890, of a short Supplementary Decree, granting the masters full power to punish their Slaves should they behave badly or run away. This, in itself, did not appear to be of much moment, as the Arabs had never had that power taken from them. Not long ago, the Society heard rumours that a third Edict had been issued by the Sultan, which had never been published in England, and that its effect was to contradict, in some important particulars, the original Anti-Slavery Edict.

The Committee of the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY therefore applied to the Foreign Office to know whether any Edict had been promulgated later than the two already issued by the Government, and published in the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* for July and August, 1890.

In reply, a copy of the following Proclamation, issued at Zanzibar on August 20th, 1890, was forwarded from the Foreign Office, and, as it cancels an important clause in the Decree of 1st August, a letter was addressed on the subject to the MARQUIS OF SALISBURY, which will be found below :—

#### "PROCLAMATION.

"FROM SEYYID ALI-BIN-SAID-BIN-SULTAN.

"Be it known to all men our subjects with reference to what I wrote on the 15th El Haj (1st August, 1890), and put up in the Custom-house :—

"If any Slave runs away from his master, or does anything wrong, punish him as before. If any Slave does great wrong, kills anyone, or steals, send him to the Liwali, who will punish him : you will see it and be pleased.

"If any Slave brings money to the Kathi to purchase his freedom, his master shall not be forced to take the money.

(Signed) "SEYYID ALI-BIN-SAID.

"ZANZIBAR, 3 Moharrem, 1308 (August 20, 1890)."

#### LETTER TO LORD SALISBURY.

16th February, 1892.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE MARQUIS OF SALISBURY, K.G., &c., &c.  
MY LORD—I am directed by the Committee of the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY to acknowledge receipt of your Lordship's letter, dated 18th December, 1891, enclosing copy of a third Proclamation of the SULTAN OF ZANZIBAR, dated 20th August, 1890. I am also directed to point out to your Lordship that Clause 8 in the Proclamation of August 1st

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distinctly gives the right to the Slaves to purchase their own freedom in the following words :—

“ 8. Every Slave shall be entitled, as a right, at any time henceforth, to purchase his freedom at a just and reasonable tariff, to be fixed by ourselves and our Arab subjects. The purchase-money on our order shall be paid by the Slave to his owner before a Kadi, who shall at once furnish the Slave with a paper of freedom, and such freed Slaves shall receive our special protection against ill-treatment. This protection shall also be specially extended to all Slaves who may gain their freedom under any of the provisions of this Decree.”

In the last clause of the third Proclamation, of August 20th, 1890, this right is cancelled in the following terms :—

“ If any Slave brings money to the Kathi to purchase his freedom, his master shall not be forced to take the money.”

On the faith of the first Proclamation, the Committee are informed that active steps have been initiated for enabling Slaves in the British Protectorate of Zanzibar to avail themselves of the privilege of working out or purchasing their freedom ; and it is with feelings of great surprise and regret that the Committee now learn, for the first time, that the Proclamation of August 1st, 1890, which they had hailed with feelings of great pleasure, as eventually holding out a probability of the extinction of Slavery, is absolutely cancelled.

In this state of things, I am directed by the Committee to ask your Lordship whether Her Majesty's Government are taking any steps to obtain the carrying out in its entirety of Clause 8 of the Proclamation of August 1st, 1890.

I have the honour to be,

Your Lordship's faithful servant,

CHARLES H. ALLEN,

*Secretary.*

#### SLAVERY IN THE PERSIAN GULF.

ACCORDING to the Indian papers, Major TALBOT has reported to the Government of India that the Slave traffic in the Persian Gulf continues with unabated vigour, the Beni Jabar and other Bedouin tribes on the Batineh coast being the chief offenders. An attempt was made to introduce twenty-five Slaves into Muscat on a French mail steamer, from Aden to Kurrachee, and six Arabs were imprisoned by the Sultan. A letter to the chiefs was followed by the discovery and release of several Africans in captivity on the pirate coast. Two men swam to the steamer *Calder*, at Lingah, and claimed protection as British subjects from Aden, and gave information regarding three other Africans in captivity on the Arab coast. One of these has been since released, and the release of the others, who are known to be at Hinjam, will be insisted on. The Governor of Bushire, in response to a request from the Resident, has issued orders forbidding the traffic, which was very active at Charak and Kais, and the whole question has been brought to the notice of Government. Many of the Omani boats, Major TALBOT says, fly the French flag and carry French papers, under cover of which they are able to practise their trade in Slaves with impunity. Various suggestions for effectually putting a stop to the trade have been made, and will, no doubt, receive consideration.

## East African Administration.

THE following extracts from an article in the *Morning Post* of 29th February, under the above title, contain some very admirable remarks upon the Slave-trade in Zanzibar, and the three-fold Proclamations issued by the Sultan on August 1st, 9th, and 20th, 1890, the third of which cancels important provisions in the first. This subject will be found further treated in another column. The article contains some remarks upon the *Abolition of the Legal Status of Slavery*, which are not entirely in accord with the views of the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, which has always maintained that nothing but a complete and immediate abolition of Slavery will ever put a stop to the Slave-trade. In that opinion they have the support of Sir JOHN KIRK, G.C.M.G., late Her Majesty's Representative in Zanzibar; of a Parsee gentleman, resident in that island; of Sir FREDERICK GOLDSMID; of the Rev. HORACE WALLER; of Mr. J. V. CRAWFORD, and others, extracts from whose writings on this subject, which have already appeared in the *Reporter*, we reprint, to show that our policy has been unwavering on that question:—

### *Extracts from the "Morning Post."*

#### ABOLITION OF STATUS OF SLAVERY.

"There has never been a time so propitious as the present for not only extirpating the traffic in Slaves in the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba and throughout British East Africa, but for abolishing once for all the very status of Slavery itself wherever British authority reigns in those regions. After all, so long as a demand exists a supply will be found to meet it, until at least the latter is extinguished by those means prescribed by the Brussels Act as most effectual for the purpose. A great deal has been done through the agency of the British East Africa Company during the short period of its existence to restrict the area of supply as well as to sap the institution of Slavery itself. This we shall revert to presently; but before doing so a few words may be said concerning the question of Slavery in the Zanzibar dominions, where it is a legalised and recognised institution, and therefore not so easy to deal with as in inland districts owning no recognised Government. The status of Slavery or domestic servitude, it may be remarked, is not the creation of any statute or legislative decree revocable by the same authority that issued it. It is a custom which has its sanction in the Mohammedan religious law, and those who are inclined to advocate the summary abolition of Slavery are apt to forget the special sanction under which it exists. Any arbitrary interference with such a custom would arouse the resentment of Mohammedans, who have themselves no interest in the institution. It is true that lapse of time might reconcile them to abolition as a thing inevitable, but it may be remembered that India was for a hundred years subject to the undisputed sway of British authority before the Act of 1843 was passed giving to Slaves equal access to the public tribunals with their masters—in other words, abolishing the legal status of Slavery. At the same time, while the Prophet did not prohibit domestic Slavery, he declared the manumission of Slaves to be one of the highest acts of virtue—a circumstance which facilitates to the pious Mussulman the reconciliation of his temporal interests with the teachings of his religion. This precept of the Prophet in itself is an opening through which the question of abolition



of Slavery may be approached, leaving to the Slave owner the private consolations which it affords to reconcile him to such external persuasions of another kind as may be brought to bear upon him.

#### ZANZIBAR PROCLAMATIONS OF 1890.

"The Zanzibar Proclamation of August 1, 1890, as is well known, gave to every Slave the right to redeem himself on payment of a settled sum to his master, but this privilege was cancelled a few days later by another decree, leaving it to the option of the master to accept the money or not. The reason of this revocation is not far to seek. The Island of Pemba, which supplies the greater part of the world with cloves, has long been the great market for Slaves from the East Coast, depending as the plantations do upon Slave labour. Natives brought down from the plateaux of the interior to the humid and unhealthy atmosphere of Pemba are subject to a high rate of mortality, rendering fresh supplies continually necessary. For many years past—since 1873, when the transport of Slaves from the mainland was made illegal—the vigilance of the British cruisers has seriously interfered with the supply of new Slaves. In addition to this drawback, the price of cloves has fallen from over 1/- to about 3d. per lb. The plantations, to be worked with a profit at all, must therefore be worked by an increased supply of Slave labour. Under these circumstances, the owners feel disheartened with the prospects of their industry, and the decree giving Slaves the right to redeem themselves struck them with dismay. They saw in it nothing but ruin. Now, this is an attitude on the part of the masters which offers but little encouragement to any scheme aiming at a general redemption of Slaves. Even in dealing with so abhorrent an institution as Slavery it would be contrary to British principles to confiscate any man's property, whether in his human chattels or his plantations. On the other hand, no vigilance will be spared to prevent the Pemba owners from obtaining fresh Slaves. But it is unquestionably the case that, as regards the future of Slavery, the masters on the East Coast are full of well-grounded apprehension since the inauguration of British authority, and are therefore in a state of mind calculated to make them amenable to British ideas if it can be shown to them that their material interests need not be imperilled. As regards the clove plantations, for example, it should not be difficult to teach them that with a restricted production they should obtain higher prices and realise from the employment of a few hands profits higher than they obtain at present from the labour of many. A half crop at 9d. per lb., produced by few labourers would pay very much larger profits than a whole crop at 3d. under present conditions. It is not merely that the perception of this fact carried into practice would diminish the demand for Slaves; but it would gradually open the way for the employment of free labour, and disabuse the minds of the plantation owners of the special fear of industrial ruin which now operates so powerfully in antagonism to the idea of Slave redemption. A system of self-redemption by the labour of the Slave himself has for some time been in operation in the territory of the East Africa Company, and its success as an experiment within limited bounds has been such as to afford encouragement for its extension along the whole coast under British authority. It is only necessary to convince plantation owners that their plantations need not fall into ruin with the substitution of free for Slave labour, in order to pave the way for a process of quiet and equitable abolition which would remove the last vestige of Slavery from British East Africa in the course of a few years. It may be remarked that Sir JOHN KIRK, writing to SULTAN BURGHASH in March, 1885, pointed out that there could at that time be very few legally held Slaves

in Pemba, as the traffic had been prohibited since 1873, and on this ground he suggested the total abolition of Slavery in that island.      °      °      °      °

"As above stated, a system of Slave redemption has been successfully put in operation, all the tribes of the interior having treaties with the Company have been declared to be free people and incapable of being held in servitude, and native caravans have, as far as practicable, been stopped *en route* to the coast and subjected to strict examination. For all that, Slaves are brought to the coast and run out to sea for the markets of Pemba or Arabia. It is hardly possible to discover Slaves in a native caravan, as they are passed off as porters, or, in the case of women and children, concealed in the neighbourhood until the inquisition is over. As long as trading caravans go to the interior so long will they make Slave-trading a principal part of their business. It is too easy and too profitable to be laid aside, except under sheer necessity. The only necessity which will put an end to kidnapping of men, women, and children is that which will put an end to caravan trading itself, or, in other words, trading by means of human portage. There is one method, and one only, by which this can be done. Roads are very well, but you cannot compel a Slaver to keep to the road, and he certainly will not do so when there is risk. Not one Slave caravan ever comes to the coast by the regular routes. The Slaves are brought down, under cover of night if necessary, by unfrequented tracks to remote creeks, and there packed into dhows and put out to sea, or run in batches of from three to half-a-dozen in small craft, as opportunity offers, into the near-lying Island of Pemba. Build a railway through the country traversed by these Swahili trading caravans and you put an end to their existence, and, with them, to the Slave traffic which accompanies them. There is no other way of effecting the object in view. The railway will carry all the trade of the regions it passes through for a fraction of the cost of a caravan of porters, and the traders from the coast will at once see that their interest no longer lies in the old traffic, and will accommodate themselves with promptitude to the new order of things."

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#### SIR JOHN KIRK ON THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY IN ZANZIBAR.

Sir JOHN KIRK, in transmitting a report to the Foreign Office, states, in his despatch of March 13th, 1884:—

"I believe the non-recognition of Slavery as a status known to law to be essential to prosperity in Pemba."

To this despatch EARL GRANVILLE replied, on the 21st April, 1884:—

"It is evident that the fear of Slavery entertained by the negroes will prevent any influx of labour into the island so long as the state of Slavery exists, and I am to instruct you to lose no fitting opportunity of bringing before the SULTAN the advantages which might accrue to the island were he to decree the abolition of Slavery in it."

On November 22nd, 1884, Sir JOHN KIRK, writing to EARL GRANVILLE, states:—

"I shall avail myself of the present occasion to urge upon the SULTAN the advantages he would gain by ignoring Slavery as a status recognised by law in Zanzibar and Pemba, as thereby free men would gladly come over in numbers in search of wages and food who now are afraid to do so, or who, if they do, are kidnapped on landing and claimed as Slaves by some one or other on shore."

OPINION OF A PARSEE GENTLEMAN IN ZANZIBAR, JANUARY, 1889.

"I am an ardent advocate of the total abolition of Slavery from the Islands of Zanzibar and Pemba, as I am firmly of opinion that this is *the* time for striking a deathblow to this diabolical institution here, and that if the present opportunity is allowed to escape, I am afraid it may take several years before another such opportunity presents itself. Owing to the present state of things here, the Arabs and other Slave-owners here are already half-prepared to hear of the proposal to emancipate their Slaves, while the Slave population flutter with delight at the prospect of their expected emancipation. Any apprehension that an attempt at emancipation of the Slaves here will be attended with a revolt by Slave-owners would show want of knowledge of the native population, who, as a body, are peace abiding, and are little disposed to risk their lives and property in any case. The Arabs and Swahilis of Zanzibar and Pemba, however partial to Slavery, are not to be judged of by the character of those bloodthirsty Slavers who have created all the disturbances on the coast and in the interior at present."

The following extracts are from papers drawn up by their authors for presentation to the Brussels Conference, through His Excellency LORD VIVIAN, in November, 1889.

REV. HORACE WALLER.

"I suggest, then, that the European Powers concerned with the progress of East Africa shall immediately call upon the SULTAN OF ZANZIBAR to do away with the status of Slavery as a thing allowed by law, and I add the recommendation that if it be not voluntarily extinct in six months, compulsion on the part of the Powers shall follow. And here it becomes necessary to explain why one proposes to deal with 'the status of Slavery' from the legal point of view, instead of proposing that all Slaves shall be emancipated outright. The two things are different. Without doubt the course under consideration will be the forerunner of total emancipation, but it lessens the shock of the more complete operation, and will give time for the transition to take place more gradually.

"Let us see what the abolition of 'the legal status of Slavery' means. The law courts would be closed against any master who came before a judge to claim punishment for his Slave's misbehaviour. A runaway Slave could not be arrested, for the law would take no cognizance of his state as a Slave, and the judge would tell the plaintiff that the law did not admit that any man could be the property of another. Once more, no sales of Slaves could take place, for in a dispute as to price, or in default of proper payment, the seller would have no remedy in a court of law. You will at once notice that such a measure varies considerably from emancipation, and I believe I am right in stating that this is the method which the British Government pursued in the case of Slaves in the Indian Empire when the various States came under our sway. The first sentiment which will naturally arise is that such a sudden interference in the institutions of this particular sovereignty will be accompanied by hardship. I own that it cannot be quite a painless operation. But the pain will be to the few, the healing to the many. On the one hand we have the business occupations of a small people, who, historically speaking, have only had a recent foothold in Africa, I mean the Muscat Arabs. On the other, we have to consider the millions of Aborigines whose lives are scattered like autumn leaves whenever the prospect of gain brings them in contact with that machinery which is practically set



up at Zanzibar for the destruction of native life. The proposition which I advocate is calculated more than any other to relieve the tension placed on the lives of the lake tribes by the requirements of the Arabs, and to take off the pressure which has been so sadly depicted by LIVINGSTONE, CAMERON, WISSMANN, and STANLEY."

SIR FREDERICK J. GOLDSMID, K.C.S.I.

"If, then, the Moslem could be convinced, by reason and argument, that abolition of this status is not contrary to the spirit of his religion and the testimony of his conscience, what a result might be anticipated! Slavery, as an institution, would be struck down and shattered by his hands as the material idol of the heathen—for he is still the confirmed iconoclast of former years. I know that a suggestion such as this will bring a smile to the lips of many who know more of Oriental Mohammedans than most Englishmen or other Europeans; but wherefore? Not so much, perhaps, because they think the proposed conviction an impossible end, but because their standpoint is that of regarding Slavery to be a natural and fitting institution in the East. So that, right or wrong, they must unfortunately remain in the ranks of our opponents."

J. V. CRAWFORD, ESQ.

(*Late Acting Consul in Cuba.*)

"The SULTAN OF ZANZIBAR ought to be called upon to determine at once the status of Slavery in Zanzibar and Pemba.

"This great object achieved, other Mohammedan rulers might follow his example, although we fear that it will require, in every such case, very solid inducements for them to do so.

"The territories bordering on the East Coast of Africa, where the Slave-trade is still rampant, are being partitioned between European nations. In due time European ideas must predominate all along the coast as well as far into the interior."

The above extracts will show that the policy pursued by the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY during the last half century is still held by eminent authorities to be the only panacea for the Slave-trade.

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"THE TIMES," NOVEMBER 14, 1889.

"The Committee of the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, in the Memorial addressed last week to LORD SALISBURY, urged that the most decisive blow would be struck at the Slave-trade if the markets of the Slave-hunters could be closed, or even greatly restricted, by the abolition of the legal status of Slavery, in countries where at present Slaves are allowed to be bought and sold and held in servitude. It is the demand for Slaves in the various Mohammedan States of Asia and Africa that makes it worth while for the Arab traders to defy the public opinion and the physical force of civilisation."

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## Slavery in the Persian Gulf.

ABUSE OF THE FRENCH FLAG.

H.M.S. *Boadicea* will probably have a turn in the Persian Gulf before going home writes the Calcutta paper. The increasing frequency of the importations of "raw" Slaves into the countries bordering on the Gulf, has been brought to the notice of Government. Many of the Omani boats are said to fly the French flag and carry French papers, under cover of which they are able to practise their trade in Slaves with impunity.—*Bombay Gazette.*

## The Slave-Trade in Central Africa.

DR. PRUEN, in his interesting book, "The Arab and the African" (SEELY & Co., London, 1891), gives some particulars of the Slave-trade which are well worthy of our consideration. We extract the following :—

What becomes of all the Slaves that are annually sent down country? How many do come down it is impossible to estimate, so secretly are the coast arrangements transacted, and so few white men are there in the interior to notice the rather more open proceedings which occur there. Yet one can form a rough estimate, perhaps, from what used to be observable at Mpwapwa, at any rate, before it passed into the hands of the Germans two years ago. Mpwapwa is a kind of East Central African "Clapham Junction." To it caravan routes from different portions of the interior converge, and from it they diverge again to the various ports on the East Coast. Possibly, one quarter of the Slaves come from Tanganyika and Victoria Nyanza. During twelve months of the time that I was stationed there, I should think two hundred caravans, containing varying numbers of Slaves, must have passed through, going coastward: possibly thirty thousand in all. If this is correct, though it is but a guess, the output of Slaves on the East Coast alone is not likely to be less than a hundred thousand a year. What becomes of this great multitude? Great numbers are required for the Sultan's towns along the coast which are held by Arabs, and where Slave labour alone is employed. Then comes Zanzibar, with its thousands of Arabs, all possessing household Slaves. Almost every native in Zanzibar is a Slave, even the so-called *wangwana* or "freemen"; all perform household duties or till the fields and farms. Next comes Pemba, which supplies the world with cloves, all raised by Slave labour; and, lastly, comes Muscat, the home of the Zanzibar Arab, from which Slaves, once imported, can be exported by land or by coasting dhow, with no one to gainsay, to Arabia, Egypt, Persia, Syria, and Turkey.

### ABOLITION OF THE STATUS OF SLAVERY.

WE are glad to note that DR. PRUEN strongly advocates the *abolition of the status of Slavery* as the only radical cure for Slave-trading in Zanzibar, and in this he is at one with the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, which has long and persistently urged this as the only really useful measure. No half-and-half system of abolition will avail in a country where Slave-trading is so firmly rooted as it is in Zanzibar, and where, not only Arabs, but Hindus make such large profits from the traffic in human beings, the latter finding the money that supports the trade and pocketing heavy toll in the shape of interest.

All these methods will be a work of time, and nothing but the abolition of the status of Slavery will put a stop at all quickly to the East African trade. But now that the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba, and the Northern part of the East Coast, have come under British protection, and the southern under German, this abolition for which Sir CHARLES EUAN-SMITH, Her Majesty's Agent and Consul-General at Zanzibar, has for the last few years worked so persistently, and which he has already partially obtained, promises before long to be a completely accomplished fact. Once abolish the status of Slavery in these parts, and make the Slave free on entering these regions, and you abolish his value to the Slave-owner. Nothing will induce an Arab to waste time, money, health, and perhaps life, in securing a number of Slaves over

whom he would have no legal control at the coast, even if he ever succeeded in bringing them there through all the new and added dangers of the way.

But in looking forward to the realisation, ere long in its entirety, of Sir CHARLES EUAN-SMITH's scheme, we must not forget that, beneficial as the results of that scheme must be to Eastern Equatorial Africa, there will still exist outlets for the Slave-trade in the Eastern Soudan and Morocco, by which the Arab can still enter the country to devastate it or leave it with his ill-gotten spoil.

The real obstacle to the abolition of the Slave-trade lies, of course, in the natives themselves. As long as the natives are split up into small communities of two or three thousand each, so long will they be a prey to any unscrupulous leader of even a small, well-armed, caravan; and as long as they are eager to sell each other for foreign produce, so long will the Slave-dealer find a supply always ready to his hand. Let us hope that the time is not far distant when strong civilised Governments will hold the reins of authority from north to south, and from sea to sea.

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### The Little Black Boy.

THE following pretty little poem, by the late W. BLAKE, the well-known artist, is published in Dr. J. J. GARTH WILKINSON'S new work, entitled "*The African and the True Christian Religion*." \*

MY mother bore me in the Southern wild,  
And I am black; but, O, my soul is white.  
White as an angel is the English child,  
But I am black, as if bereaved of light.

My mother taught me underneath a tree,  
And, sitting down, before the heat of day,  
She took me on her lap and kissèd me,  
And, pointing to the East, began to say:

"Look on the rising sun: there GOD does live,  
And gives His light, and gives His heat away,  
And flowers and trees and beasts and men receive  
Comfort in morning, joy in the noonday.

"And we are put on earth a little space  
That we may learn to bear the beams of love,  
And these black bodies, and this sunburnt face,  
Are but a cloud, and like a shady grove.

"For when our souls have learned the heat to bear  
The cloud will vanish, we shall hear His voice,  
Saying, 'Come out from the grove, my love and care,  
And round my golden tent like lambs rejoice.'"

Thus did my mother say, and kissèd me,  
And thus I say to little English boy:  
When I from black, and he from white-cloud free,  
And round the tent of GOD like lambs we joy,—

I'll shade him from the heat till he can bear  
To lean in joy upon our Father's knee:  
And then I'll stand and stroke his silver hair,  
And be like him, and he will then love me.

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\* JAMES SPIERS, 36, Bloomsbury Street, London. 1892.



## TRIPOLI, TUNIS, ALGERIA, AND MOROCCO.

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*Report of Messrs. HENRY GURNEY and CHARLES H. ALLEN  
to the Committee of the  
British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.*

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LONDON, 3rd February, 1892.

GENTLEMEN,

In accordance with the instructions issued by the Committee, at their meeting in December last, we left London by the P. & O. Steamer *Carthage* on the 17th of that month, and arrived at Malta on Christmas-Day. Thence we proceeded by steamer to Tripoli, and afterwards by coasting steamer to Tunis, calling on the way at several little-frequented African ports, where we had interviews with English Vice-Consuls, and others, from whom we obtained some valuable information respecting Slavery in Tunis. From Tunis we proceeded by steamer to Algiers, calling at a number of other ports; and as there is no Slavery in Algeria, we only remained one day at the chief city, proceeding by rail to Oran, where we immediately took steamer for Tangier. At Oran we received a telegram ordering us home in time for the Committee meeting, February 5th, owing to the illness of the venerable Vice-President of the Society, Mr. EDMUND STURGE, who would be unable to be present.

We were able to conform to this summons, and yet devote a week to our work in Morocco, where, through the kindly aid of SIR CHARLES EVAN-SMITH, Her Majesty's Minister-Plenipotentiary at Tangier, we obtained an amount of valuable information, which, without such assistance, could hardly have been gathered in so short a time.

Following the precedent of former similar deputations, we have divided the information we have been able to obtain into separate headings, which will perhaps make it more suitable for the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*.

We have the honour to be, Gentlemen,

Yours faithfully,

HENRY GURNEY,

CHAS. H. ALLEN.

## TRIPOLI.

At Tripoli we were received with great kindness by Her Majesty's Consul-General, Mr. NOEL MOORE, a gentleman whose long experience in the East, and perfect knowledge of Turkish and Arabic, enables him to deal personally with all Slaves who apply to him for freedom. As a matter of fact, however, such applications are now seldom necessary, because the present Turkish Governor of the Province of Tripoli proper, AHMED RESSIM PASHA, is an extremely liberal-minded man, who has not only put a stop to the arrival of Slave caravans, but has proclaimed that he will issue papers of freedom to any Slave applying to him.

Mr. Consul MOORE took us to see the Governor, who received us in the most gracious manner, offering us coffee and cigarettes, and conversing freely in French respecting the object of our mission. His Excellency informed us that there was no Slave-trade in his Province, and when we suggested that we had heard that a considerable traffic was still carried on between Tripoli and Constantinople, he stated that he was aware of this traffic, but it was not from his Province of Tripoli. On the opposite side of the Gulf the towns of Bengazi and Derna, which are out of his jurisdiction, being under another Governor, he admitted were still implicated in the Slave-trade, and this was confirmed by Her Majesty's Consul.

It fortunately happened that a negro had that morning applied to the Governor for manumission papers, and His Excellency sent for the man, and presented him to us, together with his papers of freedom, signed and sealed by the Governor. He was also good enough to give us a blank copy of his manumission papers, to which, at our request, he affixed his official seal. *See page 29.*

It may be remembered that since the meeting of the Brussels Conference the SULTAN OF TURKEY has given orders that Houses of Refuge for both men and women Slaves should be erected at Tripoli, Bengazi, Derna, Hodeidah, and Jeddah, as well as at one of the principal ports in Syria.

His Excellency was anxious to inform us that he had complied with the Sultan's order by hiring a large house in Tripoli for the reception of

freed women Slaves, after the manner adopted by the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY at their Slave Home in Cairo. We asked His Excellency to allow us to visit this Home, but he stated that, owing to the fanaticism of the people, it would scarcely be expedient for Christians to be seen entering the house.

Mr. Consul MOORE subsequently took us a walk through the city, and conducted us past the Slave Home, so that we were able to see that it was a substantial roomy building.

Before leaving Tripoli we were able to make an arrangement, through the kind assistance of Mr. Consul MOORE, for a visit to be paid to Bengazi and Derna by a qualified agent, so soon as the navigation opened, as no steamers run to those ports during the winter season. This arrangement will be laid before the Committee at its next meeting for confirmation; should it approve the steps taken, and, as the cost will be small, it can mainly be defrayed from the special fund provided for the expenses of our mission.

Our visit to Tripoli has afforded us much satisfaction, as we have reason to believe that Tripoli itself and the western portion of the province is now free from implication in the Slave-trade, unless it be the smuggling of small bodies across the frontier; but, on the other hand, we regret to find that a considerable Slave-trade is carried on in the eastern portion of this part of the Turkish dominions, and we trust that the attention of our Government will be again called to this flagrant breach of the treaty engagements of Turkey and their own Firmans, as given below.

A notice of the visit of your Deputation appeared in *The Times* of 14th January, 1892, under date, Tripoli, December 31st, 1891.

### **Firmans, &c., with respect to Tripoli.**

1848, April and September. Vizirial letters to Pasha of Tripoli prohibited public functionaries from holding Slaves.

1850, November 13. A Vizirial letter prohibited embarkation of Slaves on board of Government vessels.

1855, March 18. A Vizirial letter to the Pasha of Tripoli, ordered the cessation of the Slave-trade between Africa and Candia.

1857. A Firman, addressed to the Pasha of Egypt, the Governors-General of Tripoli and Bagdad, forbade all importation of Slaves from Western Tripoli after eight weeks in interior of Africa, six weeks in Mediterranean, and three months in the Persian Gulf. All Slaves arriving after those dates were to be liberated. Slaves arriving before the date of the Firman were not to be sold.

This Firman did not apply to the Hedjaz; but it was sent to the authorities of twenty-three Turkish possessions in the Archipelago and Mediterranean.



1858. Vizirial letters to the Pasha of Tripoli and Kaimakam of Bengazi ordered the suppression of the Slave-trade at Bengazi.

1858, November 17. A letter to the Pasha of Tripoli West ordered the enforcement of the Firman of January, 1857.

1859, October. Letters to the Governor-General of Tripoli and the Pasha of Salonica ordered an enquiry in all cases of negroes leaving Tripoli West, for the purpose of ascertaining if they were free or not. All *Slaves* arriving to be set free.

1869, June 3. Governor of Tripoli instructed to prevent traffic in negro Slaves.

## The Mediterranean Slave-Trade.

*Correspondence relating to Breach of Firmans.*

M. CATALANI TO THE MARQUIS OF SALISBURY. (Received July 4).

LONDON, *June 25, 1889.*

MY LORD,—In pursuance of instructions received from his Excellency, Signor CRISPI, I have the honour to transmit to your Excellency, copy of a report from His Majesty's Consul-General in Tripoli, respecting the Slave-trade on the Barbary coast.

His Majesty's Consul states that the places where the Slaves are collected are Ogila and Gialo, and that the ports of embarkation for the coast of Asia Minor are those between Derna and Solum.

T. CATALANI.

SIGNOR GRANDE TO SIGNOR CRISPI.

TRIPOLI, *June 8, 1889.*

The English gun-boat *Dolphin*, Captain NEVILLE, 115 men and four guns, put in here from Malta, Goletta, and Sfax, and left yesterday for Havas, Bengazi and Derna.

The recent presence of such English ships in Barbary ports is due to the black Slave-trade.

It is, however, difficult to carry on that trade along those shores, as they are under almost constant supervision.

At present the only places where these poor wretches can be collected are Ogila and Gialo, and the places where they are embarked for the coasts of Asia Minor are those from Derna to Solum. That is the region where a cruiser should be stationed, *i.e.*, between Alexandria and the Cirennica, in order to catch the small sailing-boats which leave those solitary shores for Asia Minor.

GRANDE.

freed women Slaves, after the manner adopted by the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY at their Slave Home in Cairo. We asked His Excellency to allow us to visit this Home, but he stated that, owing to the fanaticism of the people, it would scarcely be expedient for Christians to be seen entering the house.

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GRANDE.



## REPORT BY CONSUL CAMERON.

BENGAZI, *May 11, 1889.*

The Slave-trade in this district is due to Slaves having been brought up by caravans from Wadaï and Darfour to Ojila, whence they are spread over this province as domestic Slaves, and a minority are shipped on the coast for other parts of Turkey.

At Ojila the Turks have a colonel, a civil tax-gatherer, and some fifty police, for the collection of the tax on palm trees. This small force appears to be quite unable to check the Slave traffic in that oasis. Practically, every Bedouin who owns a camel or a piece of land owns one or more Slaves. The same is true of the town Arabs. Nearly every house has its male or female Slaves. Owing to neglect and ill-treatment, more than 100 domestic Slaves appeal annually to this consulate. The consulate shelters the refugees in a Slave Home, and obtains their freedom from the Governor. During the past quarter thirty-six Slaves have thus been freed.

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### Turkish Homes for Freed Slaves.

CONSTANTINOPLE, *Feb. 8, 1891.*

"The project recommended some time ago by the British Embassy, and recently approved by the Council of Ministers, of establishing homes for enfranchised negro Slaves, has just been sanctioned in principle by the Sultan. Although the traffic in black Slaves is not yet entirely abolished, the Imperial Government is anxious for its suppression throughout the Empire, and the need for such institutions as those contemplated becomes apparent when it is stated that the majority of enfranchised negroes become re-enslaved even after receiving their certificates of manumission, and contrary to the Convention respecting the Slave-trade.

"It is proposed to establish the homes in the districts of Bengazi, Tripoli, Jeddah, and Hodeida, as well as in Constantinople, and, in future, the freed Slaves will be sheltered in these asylums, and, in conformity with special regulations already in force, will be cared for at the cost of the State. Provision will also be made for the children of negroes received at the homes. The boys will be admitted to the primary professional schools or to the military bands, while the girls will be assisted to obtain situations as domestic servants. In sanctioning these measures, the Sultan, taking into consideration the fact that the offspring of negro parents cannot become acclimatised in temperate regions, and seldom survive, has ordered that enfranchised Slaves who are married shall be sent to homes which are to be built as required on the State lands at Smyrna."



## TUNISIA.

As already noticed, we landed at several ports between Tripoli and Tunis, at some of which the steamer remained several hours. These included Sfax, Mahidia, Monastir, Gabes, and Sousse or Susa, ports little frequented by Europeans, but all of them garrisoned by French troops. Here we saw many natives, who are engaged, more or less, in bringing Esparto grass to the ports for shipment to France and England for paper-making. We had interviews with different Vice-Consuls, and from one of these, Mr. WILLIAM GALEA, of Sousse, we obtained valuable information as to the cessation of the Slave-trade under French protection. Of this we shall speak further in describing our work in the City of Tunis. We appointed Mr. WILLIAM GALEA Corresponding Member of the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, subject to the confirmation of the Committee.

**CITY OF TUNIS.**—At this port we remained nearly a week, awaiting a steamer to carry us on our way to Morocco. The English Consul-General at Tunis, Mr. ROBERT DRUMMOND HAY, is not unknown to the Society we had the honour to represent, for not only is he son of Sir JOHN DRUMMOND HAY, late Minister in Morocco, but he was British Consul at Mogador from 1875 to 1879, during which time he was favourably known to the Society by his outspoken and truthful despatches respecting the Slave-trade.

Mr. Consul-General DRUMMOND HAY received your Deputation with great cordiality, and personally presented them to M. REGNAULT, then Acting Resident-General for France. This gentleman expressed the greatest willingness to show the Deputation how the question of Slavery now stands in Tunisia, where he assured us the Slave-trade no longer exists, and this was confirmed by Her Majesty's Consul.

Our introduction by M. REGNAULT to M. ROY, Secretary-General of the Tunisian Government, and his native colleague, MAHOMED HASSAN, who has had a large experience in Egypt, and speaks French with great fluency, enabled us to inspect the books and papers relating to the liberation of Slaves. These papers, and the information received from the above-named gentleman, show that in the matter of dealing with Slavery in Mohammedan countries, the French are able to give us a few hints that we might well be content to follow. For instance, in the matter of Registration, which General GORDON continually urged our Government to adopt in Egypt. The French in Tunis have not only carried out this plan but have added to it the handing to every Slave papers of manumission, which he or she is bound to carry always about the person in order that they may be produced whenever asked for. Should a Slave be challenged by any official and unable to produce the papers of freedom, the *master* of such Slave would be brought before the Court and severely punished, unless he could prove that it was not through any fault of his. Even the difficulties presented by the *hareem* system, which we have always been told are insurmountable, have been overcome in Tunisia,



where the impenetrable veil which covers the women's apartments has been lifted for the purposes of justice. A band of ladies, and of negro women, have formed a Society for procuring information as to *hareem* Slaves, and to them Slave women who have to make complaints of ill-treatment, or who wish to be set free, can always apply, and cases are reported of any women Slaves known to be without their papers of freedom.

During the sitting of the Brussels Conference, the BEY OF TUNIS issued a Decree in May, 1890, confirming the former Decree of 1846, and adding important clauses thereto, and in April, 1891, a circular was issued to the Caid (or Governors) of the Province respecting the carrying out of the Decree above alluded to. By the courtesy of the BRITISH CONSUL-GENERAL, we were able to obtain copies of the official Tunisian journal of those dates, translations of which we append hereto.

### Decrees.

*(From the Journal Officiel, Tunisien, of 29th May, 1890.)*

DECREE OF 9 CHAOUAL, 1307, OR 28 MAY, 1890.

Praise be to God!

We, ALI PACHA BEY, Possessor of the Kingdom of Tunis:

In view of the Decree of Our glorious predecessor, SIDI AHMED BEY, of 25 Moharrem, 1262 (23 January, 1846), declaring that for the highest considerations of religion, humanity, and policy, Slavery shall no longer be recognised throughout the Regency:

Considering that, since then, special orders of our predecessors have suppressed the Slave markets, have decreed that all those who had come into the Regency as Slaves should be set at liberty, and that the Caid should, under the severest penalties, report to the Government any act of Slavery of which they might have cognizance:

In view, specially, of the Circular of our Prime Minister, dated 5 Redeb, 1304 (29 June, 1887), addressed to the Caid by our order, and renewing these prescriptions:

Considering that We esteem it an honour to associate ourselves with the noble ideas which inspired the Decree of 23 January, 1846, and that it cannot fail to be beneficial to unite in one only the several regulations now existing which prohibit and punish Slavery in our States, We have decreed as follows:—

*Article I.* Slavery does not exist, and is prohibited throughout the Regency. Every human being, without distinction of nationality or colour, is free, and has the right to appeal to the laws and to the magistrates, if he considers himself wronged.

*Article II.* Within three months from the promulgation of this Decree, all persons in our States who have negroes or negresses in domestic service, must, if they have not already done so, furnish each of them with a notarial deed, countersigned by the Cadi, or, failing him, by the Caid or his representative, at the master's cost, certifying that the manservant or maidservant is free.

*Article III.* Infractions of the foregoing Article will be punished by the French or the Native Courts, according to the nationality of the culprit, by a fine of from 200 to 2,000 piastres.

*Article IV.* Any person convicted of having bought, sold, or detained as a Slave any human being, shall be condemned to imprisonment for from three months to three years.

*Article V.* Article 463 of the French Penal Code will be applied to the offences and infractions mentioned in this Decree. Article 58 of the same Code will be applied in case of a second offence.

Seen for promulgation, and to be put in force,

Tunis, 29 May, 1890.

(Signed) J. MASSICAULT,

Minister Plenipotentiary and Resident-General of the French Republic.

(From the *Journal Officiel Tunisien*, of 23 April, 1891.)

THE PRIME MINISTER'S CIRCULAR TO THE CAIDS (GOVERNORS) OF THE REGENCY.

By my Circular, published in the *Journal Officiel* of 9 Kada, 1307 (26 June, 1890), I gave you instructions for carrying out the Decree of HIS HIGHNESS THE BEY, dated 9 Chaoual 1307, proscribing Slavery in the Regency.

*Article II.* of that Decree ordains that all persons who have negroes and negresses in domestic service must furnish each of them with a notarial document certifying that they are free.

I have been informed that some persons, having negroes and negresses in their service, have executed the notarial deed required by the Decree of 9 Chaoual 1307, but have not handed it to the interested parties.

In order to point out more clearly the intentions of the Decree of 9 Chaoual 1307, and to insure its execution, I have, by order of my august master, decided as follows :—

The notarial documents prescribed by Article II. of that Decree, as soon as they are drawn up, are to be handed to the servants in whose names they are made out, to be kept by them and shown to the authorities when required. The notaries who draw up these certificates of freedom must attest, by a marginal note on the registry of these documents, that the certificates have been duly delivered to the parties interested, so that, should the original be lost by the servant, it can be proved that it was given to him. I beg you will pay strict attention to the carrying out of these instructions, the receipt of which you will take care to acknowledge.

Tunis, 23 April, 1891.

(Signed)

MOHAMED EL AZIR BOU ATTOUR.

(From the *Journal Officiel Tunisien*, of 29th May, 1890.)

PRIME MINISTER'S CIRCULAR TO THE MAGISTRATES OF THE CHRAĀ IN TUNIS.

By my Circular published in the Official Journal of the Regency, of the 9th Kada, 1307 (26 June, 1890), I have given you instructions for the execution of the Decree of HIS HIGHNESS THE BEY, dated 9th Chaoual, 1307, proscribing Slavery in the Regency.

*Article II.* of that Decree ordains that all persons who have negroes and negresses in domestic service must furnish each of them with a notarial document certifying that they are free.

I have been informed that some persons, having negroes and negresses in their service, have executed the notarial deed required by the Decree of 9 Chaoual, 1307, but have not handed it to the interested parties.

In order to point out more clearly the intentions of the Decree of 9 Chaoual, 1307, and to ensure its execution, the Caid (Governors) have been requested to assure themselves personally that the certificates of freedom have been delivered to the servants in whose names they have been made out, as soon as drawn up, and to intimate to these servants that they must exhibit their certificates to the authorities of the Regency whenever they are required to do so.

It has been also decided that the transmission of these documents to the servants should be officially authenticated by a formal declaration on their part. This declaration must be received gratis by the notaries who draw up the certificates, and recorded by them on the margin of the minute of the certificate which they keep.

I have addressed a Circular on this subject to the Caid (Governors) and the Cadis (Judges) of the Regency, and have given them the requisite instructions.

I particularly request you will communicate the contents of this letter to the notaries of Tunis, and see that they adhere to these decisions.

TUNIS, 23 April, 1891.

(Signed) MOHAMED EL AZIZ BOU ATTOUR.

(From the *Journal Officiel Tunisien*, of 29th May, 1890.)

CIRCULAR OF THE PRIME MINISTER TO THE CADIS (JUDGES) OF THE REGENCY.

By my Circular published in the Official Journal of the Regency, of the 9th Kada, 1307 (26 June, 1890), I have given you instructions for the execution of the Decree of HIS HIGHNESS THE BEY, dated 9th Chaoual, 1307, proscribing Slavery in the Regency.

*Article II.* of that Decree ordains that all persons who have negroes and negresses in domestic service must furnish each of them with a notarial document certifying that they are free.

I have been informed that some persons, having negroes and negresses in their service, have executed the notarial deed required by the Decree of 9 Chaoual, 1307, but have not handed it to the interested parties.

In order to point out more clearly the intentions of the Decree of 9 Chaoual, 1307, and to ensure its execution, the Caid (Governors) have been requested to assure themselves personally that the certificates of freedom have been delivered to the servants in whose names they have been made out, as soon as drawn up, and to intimate to these servants that they must exhibit their certificates to the authorities of the Regency whenever they are required to do so.

It has also been decided that the transmission of these documents to the servant should be officially authenticated by a formal declaration on their part. This declaration must be received gratis by the notaries who draw up the certificates, and recorded by them on the margin of the minute of the certificate which they keep.

I beg you to give the necessary instructions to the notaries within your jurisdiction to carry out this decision, and I request you to watch over its faithful observance.

Please to acknowledge receipt of this Circular.

TUNIS, 23 April, 1891.

(Signed) MOHAMED EL AZIZ BOU ATTOUR.

Mr. CONSUL-GENERAL R. DRUMMOND HAY consented to accept the position of Corresponding Member of the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, which we offered him in the name of the Committee.

*A detailed notice of our visit to Tunis appeared in "The Times" of 26th January.*



## MOROCCO.

ON our way to Tangier, as described above, we called upon CARDINAL LAVIGERIE at his residence, in Algiers, and were grieved to find that His Eminence was too ill to receive visitors. In fact, from what we heard from our own Consul and from Père LIVINHAC, late of Uganda, whom we had the pleasure of seeing, we have reason to fear that His Eminence is very seriously unwell.

We had a very pleasant interview, in Algiers, with Sir LAMBERT PLAYFAIR, K.C.M.G., British Consul-General for Algeria, who assured us that there were no Slaves in that province, which speaks well for the action of the French Government in that colony.

As our presence was not required in Algiers, we only remained one night, leaving the next day for Morocco.

In that country, as previously stated, our time was limited, and, moreover, the weather was extremely unfavourable, being very wet and cold, during most of our stay. The whole country had been excited by a threatened attack of the tribes upon Tangier, but this danger was averted by the presence of five warships, which we found at anchor in the bay, and by the consent of the Sultan to remove the obnoxious Governor. Colonel Sir CHARLES EUAN-SMITH, Her Majesty's Minister Plenipotentiary in Morocco, showed us much hospitality, and gave us valuable information respecting the present condition of Morocco, and the difficulties that lay in the way of rescuing that crumbling empire from the state of anarchy into which it has fallen. His Excellency also promised that the question of the Slave-trade should engage his earnest attention.

We received much valuable assistance from Mr. LUTAIF, a devoted young Syrian, whose knowledge of Arabic we found extremely helpful. This young man is at present engaged in a benevolent mission to the poorer Moors, in Tangier, under the auspices of our friend, Miss CHARLOTTE HANBURY, who has made frequent journeys to Morocco, and is deeply interested in the welfare of the people. With Mr. LUTAIF's ready assistance, and also that of young Mr. CARLETON, we were able to hold conversations with various notable persons, especially SID TORRES, Minister for Foreign Affairs, also with the recently appointed Governor of Tangier, and one of the prisoners in the Kasbah, whose capture and incarceration greatly tended to produce the insurrection of the tribes.

We also had the pleasure of an interview with Mr. MACKINTOSH, Agent for the BRITISH AND FOREIGN BIBLE SOCIETY, and an old resident in Tangier, who gave us much valuable information. We reprint from *The Times* of February 4th and February 12th, 1892, a sketch of the present condition of Morocco, and a summary of our work during our stay in that country, which was written for that journal by a member of your Deputation. In the present unsettled state of the country, it may be better not to enlarge further

upon the difficulties which exist in finding a *modus operandi* for the solution of one of the most knotty questions of the time.

TANGIER, *January 25th*, 1892.

#### INSURRECTION OF THE TRIBES.

THE insurrection of the tribes in the vicinity of this town having been quietly suppressed by the wise consent of the Sultan to appoint another Governor, or Basha, and to dismiss the one who had become obnoxious to the people, as stated in my telegram to *The Times* on Tuesday last, it may be well to review the state of things which has produced this ebullition of feeling, and to say a few words on the present condition of the Empire of Morocco. What has lately occurred here and has produced so much unfounded alarm in the capitals of Europe is only one of a series of events, which, with more or less intensity of feeling, take place every few months in some portion of this country. The discontent of the people is usually produced by the exactions of the Governor, or other constituted authority. This official receives no pay from his Government, but, on the contrary, he pays to the Sultan a very large sum—amounting, it is said, in the case of the Governor of Tangier, just dismissed, to \$50,000 (£10,000). The natural result of this vicious state of things is that the Governor considers it his business, not to administer justice, but to recoup himself for the great outlay he has incurred, and to amass a fortune beyond the sum paid. The process is perfectly understood here, and is called “squeezing”—even the very poor not being spared. It is unnecessary to describe how this is carried on, excepting that real claims are doubled or trebled, and false ones are constantly made, the non-payment of which subjects the unfortunate debtor to incarceration in the abominable prisons of this country, and, in the more remote districts, to flogging and other torture, very often resulting in death. In many cases, where the Governor is of humane and judicious temperament, these exactions are not made too oppressive or continuous, and the people submit to what they know cannot be avoided; but it often happens that the ruler of the town or province is—like many men at home—in too great haste to become rich, and the patience of the people at length becomes exhausted. Then arise insurrections against the constituted authority, and the refusal to be squeezed any more. The usual mode of dealing with such insurrections is for the Sultan to march a large army into the disaffected districts, and to lay waste the country with fire and sword—indeed, it is said that a great part of his Majesty's time is taken up by this kind of work. When such events take place in the interior, Europe looks on with comparative indifference, and the people are harried at the will of their Sovereign. It became, however, a very different matter when the Governor of Tangier produced, by his exactions and cruelty, a rising of the tribes. These tribes are mostly warlike mountaineers, and are not men to be treated with indifference. Moreover, in Tangier there exists no garrison worthy of the

name, nor police or other force, and it would be impossible for the Sultan, at this season of the year, to despatch a large army to the threatened town, so that the Kabyles, if left to themselves, would have had an easy victory. But Tangier is not a merely Moorish city. European interests are there predominant, whilst residents and visitors from almost all countries are to be found within its walls. The Spanish colony alone numbers six or seven thousand persons, many of them of the very lowest class, and almost all obnoxious to the Moors. Had a rising taken place in the city, in response to an attack by the tribes, it is considered probable that most of the Spaniards would have been slaughtered, for Spain has no power to protect her subjects here. Fortunately, however, there never existed any actual danger to life, for Colonel Sir CHARLES EUAN-SMITH, her Britannic Majesty's Minister in Morocco, promptly realizing the situation, arranged for the ironclad, *Thunderer*, then lying at Gibraltar, to cross over and anchor under the walls of Tangier. Her presence at once allayed the fears of the European inhabitants, and also convinced the chiefs of the hostile tribes, who are reasonable and intelligent men, that a force was now present against which it would be useless for them to contend. The representatives of the other Powers quickly followed the example of the British Minister, so that, at the present moment, we have five of these formidable monsters lying in Tangier Bay. The Sultan, in his capital at Fez, also took the hint and sent an order for the deposition of the Governor, whose successor has since arrived and is now installed peaceably in the Kasbah, or capitol, where I have had an interview with him. What will be the fate of the unfortunate official who has raised this storm it would not be safe to predict; but he certainly appears to have no sympathizers in this place.

#### THE FUTURE OF MOROCCO.

It may be well here to say a few words about the condition of this great empire, the capabilities of which are so vast, but so entirely ignored. Here we have a country, within four or five days steam of London, and not more than nine or ten miles from Europe, with an area not much less than that of Spain, and a soil of marvellous fertility, which produces almost nothing for the use of the civilised world, and why? Simply because there is no law nor justice in the country, nor are there any roads or means of communication, so that everything has to be carried by beasts of burden or by men, and trade has thus been reduced to a *minimum*, whilst the export of wheat is either prohibited or rendered impossible by exorbitant duties. And yet Morocco could grow sufficient grain to feed half Europe.

The Morocco question has long been imminent, and cannot probably remain much longer in its present unsettled condition. Europe cannot afford to have her peace perpetually threatened by a barbarous neighbour, who obstinately resists every attempt to introduce the civilising influences of commerce and the amelioration of her benighted and barbarous people. The



anomaly presented by this country is extraordinary. Here, within three hours of Gibraltar, we see the representatives of nearly every country in Europe; but they are all cooped up within the walls of Tangier, or just outside them. Behind them lies a vast and fertile empire, from which they are almost entirely cut off. An occasional visit to the Court is the only intercourse kept up between the fanatical ruler of this empire and the representatives of the civilised Powers, every one of whom is only received by this potentate on foot, whilst he himself sits on horseback, as a sign of superior position. Nor is it too much to say that in Tangier itself the foreign representatives have, for the past forty years, been more closely engaged in seeing that no one Power gained any undue advantage, than in striving for the development of the country, and the improvement of its poor down-trodden inhabitants. No one must get a footing in Morocco, is the watchword that appears to have animated the whole diplomatic body.

It is not my duty to make any forecast as to the future of this long-neglected, but very valuable portion of North Africa, though it may not be amiss to state a few of the evils which at present remain virtually unchecked. Among these may be mentioned the indefensible system of the indiscriminate protection to natives granted by European Ministers. Although something may be said in favour of a very restricted form of protection, without which business could scarcely be carried on in a country without any form of law, its abuse has long become a crying evil. Every man who receives protection under a foreign flag is virtually no longer a subject of the Sultan. He does not contribute one cent towards the necessary taxes of the realm, nor can he be made liable to serve as a soldier. Moreover, every protected native has the power—and very often wields it—of making false claims upon unprotected natives, who, at his instigation, may be thrown into prison, whence they do not emerge until they have paid the uttermost farthing to their unjust creditor. It is a notorious fact that the issue of protection papers has been scandalously abused, officials of various kinds having received—according to current report—large sums of money from wealthy natives who desire to make their property secure by coming under the flag of some foreign Power. Whether this goes on at the present moment it is unnecessary to inquire; but it is a fact that the Sultan complains of his subjects being taken away from him by the indiscriminate use of protection papers, and he uses this as an argument against any concessions for the extension of commerce; because, every merchant being entitled, by the present system, to have two protected agents at every port with which he does business, an increase of trade means an increase of protected natives. What is the remedy for this? With the absence, as at present, of all law, commerce could not be carried on without some safeguards, and these must be found in the establishment of some Court or mixed tribunal in which justice could be obtained, both by foreigners and natives, and which should supersede the cruel despotism which now causes a constant reign of terror.

## THE SLAVE-TRADE.

Last, but not least, a few words must be said about Slavery and the Slave-trade. I have lately paid a visit to Tripoli, Tunis, and Algeria. In the first of these provinces, under Turkish rule, the Slave-trade undoubtedly exists, but in a covert and underhand form. In Tunis, under the French sphere of influence, the trade has been extinguished, as I reported in a former letter to *The Times*, and Slavery itself only exists in a very modified form. In Algeria, I am assured by Sir LAMBERT PLAYFAIR, there are absolutely no Slaves at all. Here in Morocco, despite the long-continued efforts of British Ministers, the Slave-trade is carried on with unblushing effrontery, almost within sight of Europe; and, although Sir JOHN DRUMMOND HAY put a stop to the open sale of Slaves in all the coast towns, Slave markets exist in Fez, Morocco city, and other places in the interior, and large caravans arrive at stated intervals from Timbuctoo and the far Soudan. Indeed, I have just heard from Sir JOHN DRUMMOND HAY that he believes the order against the public sale of Slaves in the seaports is now at times infringed; but this will soon be set right by the determined opposition of Sir CHARLES EUAN-SMITH. The late Sir WILLIAM KIRBY GREEN, at the time of his lamented death, was working very hard for the suppression of the Slave-trade, and had obtained from the Sultan a verbal promise that all open Slave markets should be closed throughout his dominions. The premature death of the late Minister unfortunately prevented the ratification of the Sultan's promise; but I trust that Sir CHARLES EUAN-SMITH will make this a primary object when he presents his credentials to the Sultan.

The difficulty of dealing with his Shereefian Majesty, owing to the great distance that intervenes between his Court and the diplomatic body in Tangier, is well shown by the following instance, which has been brought to my notice by an undoubted authority:—A claim having been made through one of the foreign representatives, which was proved to be just, although the amount was greatly reduced by the Minister presenting it, the Sultan admitted its justice and forwarded a letter to the Minister, stating that he had given orders to the Kaid to pay the sum claimed. At the same time, however, His Majesty forwarded another letter to the Kaid, instructing him not to pay it, and, it not being sufficiently important for a display of force by ironclads in the bay, the poor debtor remains to the present time without his money. This is but one sample out of many showing the impossibility of obtaining justice in this country.

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TANGIER, *January 26th.*

## THE PRISON AND ITS INMATES.

In my last letter I gave a short sketch of the insurrection of the tribes, which has lately caused so much unfounded alarm in the capitals of Europe. Yesterday, I had an interview with the leader, in whose person is centred the chief interest of the movement, so far as the tribes are concerned. His

history is a sad one, but it is so characteristic of the Shereefian rule that it may be worth reproducing here. The origin of the outbreak in the Anjera country, lying in the hilly district between Tangier and Tetuan, dates back probably to the summer of last year. The sturdy tribes refused to be any longer ground down by the BASHA OF TANGIER, and elected as a sort of sub-Governor, a very popular man of their own country, named WULD-IL-HAMMAN, under whom they lived in peace and quietness, pending their appeal to the Sultan. The latter sent them a new Basha, named IDRIS, and, at first, he and the sub-Governor appeared to be on friendly terms, the Basha inviting HAMMAN to various hospitable entertainments. But the toils had been spread, and the unwary victim walked into them, for one day a band of soldiers, sent by the now deposed BASHA OF TANGIER, surrounded the house whilst the feasting was going on, put down all attempts at resistance, carried off the unlucky sub-Governor, and threw him into the abominable dungeons of the Tangier prison. There it was that I saw him, and heard this story from his own lips, the truth of which has been confirmed by an old and trustworthy British resident. The poor man has been three months in prison, and with difficulty he dragged his heavy ankle irons to the lozenge-shaped window to pour out the story of his woes. He begged me to ask Sir CHARLES EUAN-SMITH to intercede in his behalf, but this is unnecessary, as Sir CHARLES has a knowledge of the whole sad history, and may be trusted to do all that is proper under the circumstances. The poor man refrained from telling us, what we heard from other quarters, that a deputation from his tribe went to the prison, and asked his leave to take him out by force, but this he would not allow. It is probable that the tribal difficulty will not be satisfactorily settled in Tangier so long as WULD-IL-HAMMAN is allowed to languish in those dreadful dungeons. The prison of Tangier is in the same evil condition as when I last saw it, excepting that Sir CHARLES has insisted upon its being whitewashed and cleansed, and water given to the prisoners. By the kindness of a friend, I was able to give a substantial meal to the eighty miserable men and boys now incarcerated there, and, in most cases, in irons; and I am glad to find that this practical form of sympathy is not infrequently seen in Tangier. There is a drastic form of dealing with inebriates pursued by the Moors which might perhaps be useful, in a modified form, at home with some of our drunken wife-beaters. In the smaller town prison I saw a Moor, who was what is called "mad drunk," and, for the time being, as dangerous as a wild beast. This man was chained to the wall by a collar round his neck, and, consequently, quite unable to do any harm. He himself treated it rather as a joke, because he would be certainly set at liberty next day when he was sober. Strong drinks are not allowed by the Mohammedan religion; but, unfortunately, the low grog shops, so largely introduced by Spaniards into Morocco, are working untold evils with the poorer class of Moors. The Foreign Minister, SIR TORRES, told me that this disgraceful traffic is largely on the increase, and



the Spanish Government, when remonstrated with, say that by treaty they are at liberty to carry on this trade.

#### UNCHANGEABLE MOROCCO.

What strikes one in Morocco is its immobility. As it was hundreds of years ago, so it is now, except the slight coating of varnish laid on by European civilization, and even this, if left alone, quickly rubs off. You land from Gibraltar and at once step back into the middle ages, and almost even into Biblical times. From time to time during the past eight or nine years I have visited various parts of Morocco, and have seldom seen any marked improvement in the state of its people. Tangier itself is scarcely changed, except that more European houses have been built on the beautiful suburb called the Mountain, and in the town itself there is the large new building of the Electric Telegraph Company, and also a few more hotels and stores. The Moors themselves and their narrow, tortuous, muddy streets present the same hopeless, unchangeable aspect.

#### THE ELECTRIC CABLE.

To the late Sir WILLIAM KIRBY GREEN we are indebted for the electric cable that now connects Tangier with Europe, and the history of the laying of this cable is amusingly characteristic of Moorish stolidity. Having obtained a concession for the cable, Sir WILLIAM was determined to have the work commenced, but the Sultan was just as determined it should not be laid. He first tried the plan so successful with his own officers, and offered the British Minister a large sum of money if he would undertake to have the cable cut when laid and not allow it to be replaced. He was no doubt astonished when the bribe was contemptuously refused, and then His Majesty tried the plan of taking no notice of Sir WILLIAM's letters requesting permission to commence the work. After sending several respectful communications and receiving no reply, the British Minister gave notice to the Sultan that on a certain day the work of laying the cable would commence, and accordingly this was done. Of course it was very soon cut, but this was a last expiring effort of obstruction, for a duplicate shore end is now sunk deep in the sand, and the Moors, as usual, submit to the inevitable. At Tangier, however, electric communication ceases, and behind that outlying port lies a vast region dark as night.

#### NO ROADS IN MOROCCO.

No road exists in all Morocco on which a carriage or a wagon could run, and the people, or rather their rulers, will have it so. How little this is understood at home was amusingly shown by the ignorance of a well-to-do middle-aged English country gentleman who landed with me at Tangier in one of the open boats you are obliged to use in all weathers, and in which we were all getting soaked to the skin. He casually remarked "I shall take a cab up to the Continental," quite unaware that this good hotel stands in

a narrow alley up which you must wade ankle-deep in slush and mud. When the Sultan sent a small army the other day to depose the BASHA OF TANGIER, his ragged regiment had to ride through mud and morass, and after their forced march from Fez both men and horses were in miserable plight, for the rains have been very heavy during the past three weeks. Dead horses strewed the way, and I saw several lying upon the Marshan that had only arrived to die. This is a usual episode whenever the troops move in Morocco, for the worst horses are always selected for the march, in order that when they die upon the road they may be replaced by fresh and better animals, at the cost of the peasants, as no money is paid for anything required by the Sultan's army. No wonder that when he travels his Shereefian Highness is always surrounded by a chosen bodyguard of 3,000 men. When Sir W. KIRBY GREEN had successfully laid the electric cable, the Spaniards, wishing to show that they also could do something for Morocco, got up a company to light Tangier by electricity; and hence you have the strange anomaly of the Soko, or large open market, with its sea of ankle-deep black mud, lighted throughout the whole length of its rough paved causeway by the electric light. Extremes meet in this place; but, of course, the company cannot pay, as there are no rates or other municipal blessings in Tangier, and the Moors are not likely to pay voluntarily for what they do not want. Since my last visit the British Legation has been moved to a fine new house, built under the supervision of the late Minister, though he did not live to inhabit it. The approach to this building is at present over an extremely rough and muddy track just outside the Soko, and it seems a little hard on Sir CHARLES EUAN-SMITH that he should be obliged to construct a new road at his own expense. The matter of roads is a most important one, and might well form an object on which the representatives of the Powers should put aside their national jealousies and urge upon the Sultan the absolute necessity of constructing highways from the coast to the three capitals at which his Majesty alternately resides. Wages are low in Morocco, the people are miserably poor, and the money squandered in military expeditions would be far better employed in opening up the country. But to carry this out successfully some steps must be taken to secure law and order, and to guarantee to the cultivator of the soil the profit of his toil. As things are at present, no one cares to grow more than he requires for his own use, as he knows that any accumulation of wealth, either in money or in kind, will sooner or later be taken from him, and he would think himself only too lucky if he escaped imprisonment and torture. Surely the time is approaching when the Morocco question must be properly taken up by the Powers interested. It cannot remain indefinitely in its present chaotic condition, for every year of the present cruel misgovernment renders it more and more dangerous to the peace of Europe. No English Minister can do much towards opening up the country to trade and civilisation in face of the jealousies of rivals, eager to be the first to rush in, unless he is backed by the public opinion of England. This ought to be

led by the various Chambers of Commerce, whose business it is to look for fresh markets in the vast fields still unopened to our ever-increasing demands. Of all these fields there is none so rich or so near our own shores as the great empire of Morocco, still almost as hermetically sealed as was Japan itself less than a century ago.

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### The Slave-Trade in Morocco.

As the shortness of our stay prevented our visiting the Southern parts of Morocco, we are glad to be able to supplement the above information on the condition of Morocco by a sketch of the present state of the Slave-trade in that country, which we have received from our friend, Mr. DONALD MACKENZIE, who has lately passed through districts of the empire. Mr. MACKENZIE writes, under date 14th November, 1891, from Cape Juby, as follows:—

“I have now great pleasure in laying before you some particulars regarding the Slave-trade, which I collected on my way here, *via* Morocco.

“Generally speaking, the Slave-trade in Morocco is as active as ever. It is carried on more privately in the port towns, from fear of attracting the attention of the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, but, in the interior, Slaves are exposed in the public markets. The supply is drawn from the Soudan, by various routes, each caravan bringing about 300 Slaves. It is heartrending to see mothers and children separated, perhaps never to meet again in this world. A short time ago, the Moorish Kaids gave the Sultan and his son a present of 200 male and female Slaves, to celebrate the event of the marriage of the heir to the Moorish throne. The great markets for the disposal of Slaves are in Morocco city, Fez, Tetuan, and Rabat. During the two fairs which are held every year, in ‘Side Ahmed Amusa,’ in Sus, about 1,200 boys and girls are sold.

“Girls, from ten to thirteen years of age, fetch about £16 to £24 each, and the Slave merchants find the females more profitable from ten to twenty years of age.

“I pointed out to you before that a considerable amount of Slave traffic is carried on between Senegal and Morocco by Moorish merchants, and I have just seen a further confirmation of this on my way to the Canaries from Mogador, by a French steamer. A Moorish merchant, bound for Senegal, was among the passengers. He informed me himself that his object was the purchase of Slaves, especially females, for the rich Moors of Morocco. He proposed, on arriving in



Teneriffe, to take passage in a French steamer for Senegal, and, when he had purchased a suitable lot of Slaves, he would return in the same way, *and the Slaves would pass off as his family*. The captains can hardly interfere in the matter. The German steamers that touch on the Moorish coast carry many Moors for Senegal, for the same purpose. Surely the French Government ought to interfere to prevent the export of Slaves from Senegal for Morocco. I have heard, since my arrival here, that a large number of Arabs are engaged in conducting the Slave-trade between the interior and Senegal, in order to supply the demand from without. I trust your Society will do all that is possible to put an end to the Slave-trade in Morocco, by sea and land. Certainly, France can prevent the export of Slaves from Senegal. And, I think, in time, many of the interior merchants will find that legitimate trade with this port will prove more profitable in the end."

The statement made by Mr. MACKENZIE respecting the open Slave markets in Morocco, was fully confirmed to us by Lady KIRBY GREEN, who now resides in Tangier, and who visited the capital with her husband, the late Sir WILLIAM KIRBY GREEN, at that time British Minister in Morocco. Her ladyship gave us a vivid description of the scenes she had witnessed in the Slave market, where she had seen women and girls sold like animals, with no regard to their natural feelings or to the requirements of modesty. The question arises how is this disgraceful traffic in human beings to be put down. All the representatives of the foreign Powers admit that it is a scandal to Europe, and yet nothing is done. One reason why the Sultan takes so little notice of representations on the subject from the Ministers accredited to his Court, is, as he complains—and not without some reason, because these very Ministers rob him of his lawful subjects, by issuing to them papers of protection, by which they are made independent of him. A substitute for protection must be found, because law and order are necessary for both foreigner and native, as without these there can be no expansion of legitimate trade. On a former occasion, in presenting a report of a visit to Morocco, a Deputation from this Society urged upon the Committee that every available influence should be employed to secure the establishment—at all the seaport towns in Morocco, and at the capitals

of the interior—of mixed Consular Courts, to secure the administration of justice, and the cessation of the present system of unlimited despotism, which now places the life and property of every Moor not under the protection of a foreign flag, at the mercy of any cruel Governor, Caid, or other official, who happens, for the time being, to have purchased the power from the Court of ruling over any particular district. By the opening up of Morocco, with its untold wealth in agriculture, minerals, fruits, etc., to the trade of the world, England would be the first country to find fresh markets for her manufactures, and fresh fields for the immigration of many of her unemployed, whilst the making of roads and the laying of electric telegraphs would bring the now dark and hidden towns of the interior into communication with the outer world. We would suggest to the Committee of this Society, that an appeal to the principal Chambers of Commerce in England be drawn up and forwarded to the President or Chairman of each Chamber, with a view to interest those bodies in the work of spreading information as to the present condition of Morocco, and showing the great field that now lies open for cultivation at our very doors.

The hands of the British Minister in that country would thereby be strengthened, and he would be able to urge upon the Sultan, with more emphasis than has ever yet been done, the imperative necessity of abolishing the Slave-trade, and closing the disgraceful pens for human cattle that now exist in every town in which there is no resident European Consul, to prevent, by his presence, so great a scandal to humanity.

HENRY GURNEY, CHARLES H. ALLEN.

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#### Postscriptum.

Whilst the foregoing was in the Press, we received a letter, under date 15th February, from a gentleman whose acquaintance we made in Tripoli. This letter entirely confirms what we have stated respecting the Slave-trade from Bengazi and Derna. The writer says that he had just met a traveller, who had arrived from those ports in a Turkish steamer, and he gave him the following information: "About 80 or 90 black boys and girls reach Derna weekly from Wadai in Western Soudan, some of whom are sold privately at from £3 to £9 per head, whilst others are conveyed as passengers to the Island of Crete." From what we have heard, we believe that others go to Candia and Constantinople.

## A Primitive African Tribe.

It is almost refreshing to hear once more of the existence of a primitive tribe of Africans, ignorant at present of the onslaughts of Arab Slave raiders, though we fear that, like the innocent tribes discovered by Major WISSMANN, they may be doomed to destruction, unless, indeed, the Congo Free State is able to give them that protection which Europe expects for the natives who come under its rule. From *Le Mouvement Geographique* of 7th February, 1892, we translate some curious observations in the report of Lieutenant PAUL LE MARINEL, Commander of a Belgian expedition *en route* from the Congo to Katanga. On the banks of the River Loubi, LE MARINEL met with these interesting people, whom he thus describes, and who had never before been visited by Europeans.

### EXTRACTS FROM REPORT.

"The Bambué and the Kaloch are very numerous, and are still in a primitive condition, having never seen caravans, nor travellers, nor merchants. They only have small individual or tribal conflicts, warfare and its ravages being still unknown to them. These people have very little knowledge of the outside world, and one can only obtain guides from them for short distances. It is impossible to give any idea of the population of these two tribes, as we passed numerous villages to the right and left of our route. We can only say that for many days we saw village after village, and that we were constantly surrounded by thousands of natives. Their head-dress is remarkable, their thick hair generally forming a compact mass, varying in colour according to the substance that is mixed with it. Their long hair is arranged in very various ways, but their heads are altogether so grotesque that it is impossible to describe them. They also paint the face in different colours, giving them an extraordinary appearance, very much like masks. When we were in the midst of an assembly of the chiefs we had thousands of these natives around us. Each one had a long assegai, his only weapon, in his hand, and they gesticulated and cried out like madmen. They were almost naked, for they scarcely understand how to weave the fibres of the palm tree, and on this grand occasion they not only had their faces painted but their bodies were daubed with different colours. We felt ourselves in a dream, seeing these savages, for we thought that this type only existed in our burlesques. This fantastic crowd was, however, in reality a people in its pristine condition; therefore, whilst we report this region of the Loubi as the most populous that we have met with in Africa, we may say at the same time that we have never seen natives anywhere of a more extraordinary aspect, and, from this double point of view, this is certainly the most interesting portion of our journey. \* \* \*

### OTHER TRIBES.

"The Balungu are of a higher level than any natives met with in this journey, excepting, perhaps, those at the capital of MSIRI. Everything shows a commencement of civilisation, for they not only possess many things obtained by traffic with the interior, but they live more comfortably on account of the variety of their cultivated products, such as spinach, beans, etc., etc. \* \* \* The Babondo (another tribe) are incessantly at war with each other, living in scattered villages, at enmity with each other. The combats of these natives are of a mean, paltry character, and almost more shameful than those of the hunters for ivory.



"They attack each other in order to steal women, goats, and provisions, and they confess that they only fortify their villages in order to guard themselves against surprises and personal vengeance. \* \* \*

#### THE COUNTRY OF THE TROGLODYTES.

M. MARINEL passed through a country of Troglodytes, whom he calls Bena-Kabambo, and who are not numerous though very ferocious. They are subjects of MSIRI, who conquered them, and exacts a meagre tribute which they are scarcely able to pay, as he took from them everything they had, not leaving them even a goat. These miserable people live in grottos and caverns, whence they come out to cut wood and to hunt. They have no huts, but it is said that of late they have learnt to plant a little maize in hidden valleys far from any path. \* \* \*

Lieutenant MARINEL gives a curious description of MSIRI, the old chief of Katanga, who received him in a long silk cloak embroidered with gold, cloth pantaloons, and enormous boots, which appeared very uncomfortable. His head was covered with a dirty handkerchief and an old straw hat. He declared that he was very fond of the white men, and mentioned Mr. F. ARNOT and other Europeans who had been in his country. M. MARINEL remained seven weeks in MSIRI's country, and then returned to Lousambo, where he arrived on the 11th of August, having left MSIRI on the 11th of June. This expedition to Katanga reflects the greatest honour on M. MARINEL, who has opened up the route which others will follow, whilst Captain STAIRS was expected to arrive last November at Katanga, by way of Zanzibar. (MSIRI is called MSIDI, by others. *See next page*).

### Serious British Reverse in Nyassaland.

(THROUGH REUTER'S AGENCY).

MOZAMBIQUE, *January 14th.*

NEWS of a serious disaster to the force under Mr. H. H. JOHNSTON has been received here from the representatives of the Lakes Company in Nyassaland. Consul JOHNSTON has been recently engaged with a force of some hundred Sikhs and native police in suppressing the Slave-trade on the southern shores of Lake Nyassa, and hitherto with signal success. It would, however, appear from the news received to-day that the Arab Slave-hunters have banded themselves together for the purpose of more effectually resisting the British force, and made an attack upon Makanjiras, a town within the British Protectorate on the south-east shore of the Lake, not far from the Portuguese boundary.

Captain MAGUIRE, who came over from India with the Sikh force, Dr. BOYLE, of the British South Africa Company, Mr. McEWAN, engineer of the Lakes Company's steamer *Domira*, together with three Swahilis, three Sikhs, and three steamer boys were killed, whilst Messrs. KEILLER and URQUHART, of the Lakes Company, were slightly wounded. Besides these, eight Sikhs and one steamer boy were seriously injured.

Messrs. MONTEITH and FOTHERINGHAM, agents of the Lakes Company, are proceeding to Nyassa. The Lakes Company's representatives have requested that a gunboat with more men, provisions, and stores, be immediately despatched to the front. Further details are anxiously awaited.

## News from Msidi's Country.

MR. C. A. SWAN, missionary in that country, companion of Mr. ARNOT, who has been there three years and a half, is now on his way home, or has arrived, *via* the Congo, having joined a Belgian Expedition which had gone from the Congo to Katanga. The interesting publication called *Echoes of Service* gives many extracts from Mr. SWAN's diary before he left MSIDI's, and describes the arrival of the Belgians whose Commandant LE MARINEL, appears to have acted with great humanity and discretion. Mr. SWAN thus speaks of this officer: "I cannot but compliment Commander LE MARINEL on his wise and judicious dealing with MSIDI and his people. If all the Agents of the State act with the same forbearance and patience, none will be able to lay anything to their charge for any troubles that may occur."

### JOTTINGS FROM MR. SWAN'S DIARY.

My journey from MSIDI's to this place has been, in many respects, a pleasant one. Commander LE MARINEL and Captain DESCAMP have shown me much kindness and consideration.

The caravan was a very miscellaneous one, natives from Angola, Sierra Leone and Lagos as soldiers, Baluba, Bangala, Manyanga, Basongo, Almina and others as carriers, etc. We also had a Biheu in the caravan. Sergeant WILSON, a native of Sierra Leone, has had quite a remarkable career. He was in the Boer, Ashantee, Zulu and Egyptian wars; knew General COLLIE, the PRINCE IMPERIAL (who met his death in Zulu land), CHETEWAYO (the Zulu chief) and many other public characters. Every morning the bugle call was sounded four times—(1) "*Awake*"; (2) "*Get ready to start*"; (3) "*Take up loads*"; and (4) "*Forward*." M. LE MARINEL and I generally went ahead, and Captain DESCAMP brought up the rear.

In all we were sixty-six days, including nine for stoppages, making fifty-seven travelling days, and we walked on an average four hours a day.

The whole country is well watered; food is plentiful—palm fruit, bananas and plantains being abundant at nearly every village. The road is good and healthy, and we were fairly well all the way. Game is abundant as far west as the Lualaba, but beyond that point we saw scarcely any.

### CANNIBALISM.

The people here are tall and good looking; they are of the Ba-kuba tribe, and are well-known for their cannibalism. Further north human flesh is sold in their markets. Some time ago SAPU SAP, a Bakuba chief, much higher up the Sankuru, hearing of KALAMBA's country (on the Lulua river) decided to emigrate there. He arrived safely with a very large following. The State agent pointed out a site for their village, and they were soon settled and well pleased with the change. One day a man had a woman Slave to dispose of, and thinking it would be more profitable to sell her in pieces, he killed her, cut her in parts and sold the flesh for food. The State agent got hold of the man and hanged him at once. Since then they have never heard of one case of cannibalism in that village. The Sankuru here runs N.N.W., and is about 350 yards wide.

## PALM TREES.

They give a very pleasing appearance to the place, and are about the most useful trees the natives have. From the fruit is taken the thick red palm oil, which is used both for food and oiling their bodies and weapons of war. The leaves are used to make baskets, and the large strong ribs help to construct houses. From the heart, low down in the tree, a kind of fibril is obtained, from which a strong and durable cloth is woven. The heart high up the tree is a substance not unlike cabbage, which is also used for food. When the tree is young it has large thorns on the leaves, and they are used as fish-hooks. By the insertion of a tube immediately under the leaves the palm wine is obtained—a very pleasant drink when fresh, but it ferments after a time and becomes intoxicating. Europeans use this instead of yeast in making bread. The wine has various native names, the most common of which are Nalufu, Mulufu, and Tumwemwe. There must be considerably over 1,000 inhabitants here, and there are many villages not far away, both above and below. They seem very peaceful and happy, and know nothing about Arabs. We are the first white men they have seen, and from the way they crowded round us it was plain they had determined to make the best of the opportunity.

## THE KATANGA COMPANY.

The large caravan, under the charge of Captain STAIRS, R.E. (recently of Mr. STANLEY's expedition), which is making its way from Bagamoyo, on the Zanzibar coast, to Garenganze, is reported to have reached Tabora September 8th. As it had been joined by smaller caravans, the number of armed men amounted to 2,000, and by this time they may have reached MSIDI's capital. The alarm already felt in that part of Central Africa by the appearance of the small Congo Free State detachment will be greatly increased when this large force arrives. A very severe epidemic among cattle is said to have broken out in the region to the east of the Lakes. Wild animals also suffered from this disease, so that scarcity of meat was keenly felt by Captain STAIRS' caravan. Their route is to be across Lake Tanganyika, and as this would bring them somewhat in the direction taken by Mr. SHARPE, of the South Africa Company—against whom MSIDI was prejudiced for coming that way—he may not look favourably on this caravan, but may fear to make any resistance, as the Katanga Company will probably be in a position to enforce its demands. Something more like European rule may thus soon be known in Garenganze, but the presence of so many Zanzibaris will be attended with serious drawbacks.

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**Books Received.**

*Seven Years in the Soudan.* By the late ROMOLO GESSI.

*Free Land.* A Social Anticipation. By Dr. THEODORE HERTZKA.

*The Ruin of the Soudan.* By HENRY RUSSELL.

*The African and the True Christian Religion.* By J. J. GARTH-WILKINSON, M.D., F.R.G.S. (*A Study in the writings of Swedenborg.*)

*Travels in Africa during the Years 1879-83.* By Dr. WILHELM JUNKER.

*The Scape Goat: a Tale of Morocco.* By HALL CAINE.



## Slave-Trade on Red Sea Littoral.

THROUGH the kindness of Mr. W. H. WYLDE, C.M.G., we have been favoured with the perusal of a long and interesting letter from his son, Mr. A. B. WYLDE, describing the stirring events of the late campaign against OSMAN DIGNA and the rebel Dervishes, in which he took an active and important part. The following extract, shewing that, with the expulsion of the Dervishes, the Slave-trade has received a severe blow, will be read with much satisfaction. It ought to encourage us to continue our agitation for the abolition of the *legal status* of Slavery in Zanzibar and all countries under British sphere of influence, for the Arabs would then quickly discover that legitimate commerce was more profitable than the Slave-trade.

"They, together with the police and friendly people at Aghigs Kabir, No. 46, had attacked the rebels at Adobema, No. 47, and taken the place, and the MAHDI'S Beil-el Mahl or storehouse, and the MAHDI'S party had all been broken up. They had also caught SAID ABON SADECKA, the great Slave-dealer, who was lately head of the Jeddah Chamber of Commerce, and thirty-eight Slaves. This man was father to the Sadecka I caught, with the H.M.S. *Fearless*, last year, with 132 Slaves on board a dhow, nearly opposite to Aghig Hebir, and he was also owner of the Slaves that I tried to catch for PRINCE LOUIS OF BATTENBERG with H.M.S. *Scout*. The leading Slave-dealer of the Eastern Soudan and Jeddah is therefore removed from the sphere of his industries, and it will be some time before anyone starts working again; the trade is scotched for the time being, and had HOLLED-SMITH'S victory done nothing else, it would be worth the money spent as a blow to the Slave-trade. I do not know how many Slaves were taken at Tokar or will be taken, as they come in daily, but it will likely be considerably over two hundred that will join the 11th and 12th battalions. The blacks that are unmarried are pleased at getting a chance of more of their country-women, and I was greatly amused at seeing the Shillooks and Denkas come across their own tribes-people—greetings, love makings—and the black ladies soon found out there was no more Slavery for them. I was sometimes appealed to by the soldiers to convince some black Venus that she was really free, and could go with her new found friend to Suakin or wherever else she pleased with him—the man of her choice. While on the Slave-trade, I might just as well mention what a collapse there has been of it during the last two years, from Massowah upwards along the Coast. Some Slaves, of course, are still run across, but mostly from the south of Massowah and Zeilah, and they go to Hodeidah. The majority of the local Slave-dealers are frightened at the examples that have been made of the men that have been caught, and they do not think that five years on bread and water in jail, with a heavy iron round their leg, and sweeping the streets and clearing dirt in the presence of their friends and relations, is good enough set-off against the profit to be made by selling and buying a few blacks. There is absolutely no increase of crime owing to the number of freedoms that have been given, and there has been no disturbances among the Arabs at the loss of their numerous Slaves. They know if they ill-treat their Slaves that they will go to the Government and complain, and immediately they will get justice, and that they lose their property, as the Government give their Slaves liberation papers. In the bazaar it is of common occurrence to see a throng of black women marketing. Say to any of them 'Get out of the way, Slave-girl!' and the answer comes back 'I am not a

Slave ; I'm a lady.' There is not the tenth part of the Slaves in Suakin that there used to be, and I doubt very much if the people will go in for buying them again in the wholesale way they did before. The domestic Slavery now is not onerous, and even the pearl fishers, who used to purchase so many, have great difficulties in getting Slaves, and therefore treat the ones they now have as valuable property, not to be knocked about and worked to death. I am talking of the pearl fishers that visit this coast and call at Suakin ; I know nothing about the details of the fleet that work from Jeddah, Hodeidah, and the Farasan group of islands. I suppose the same ill-treatment goes on there as formerly, as the Turks do nothing, and I am afraid our Consular representatives do less. The movement against Slavery lately has had a wonderful effect, as the news of the Brussels Conference and what it has done is known in nearly every bazaar throughout Arabia. The people see that Slavery is doomed, and even the MAHDI's followers in Omdurraman see that there is a great difficulty in finding a market for their captives, and therefore treat them better. The sequel to the Soudan rebellion will be the abolition of the Slave-trade, and domestic Slavery will die a natural death. I think there is something to congratulate ourselves on ; certainly the cost in lives of Englishmen has been great, but their deaths have all been stepping stones to the ultimate suppression of Slavery. Whatever trade replaces the old one, before the rebellion in the Soudan of 1882-3, will be founded on modern ideas, alongside which Slavery cannot live."

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### Anti-Slavery Lectures.

THE Travelling and Financial Agent of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society*, Mr. FREDERICK C. BANKS, has, by kind permission of various ministers, arranged for the following meetings in the neighbourhood of London, at which he will deliver an address upon the Slave-trade:—1892.

Wednesday, March 9th.	Harecourt Congregational Chapel, Canonbury.
Thursday, March 10th.	Congregational Chapel, Forest Gate.
Friday, March 11th.	Congregational People's Meeting, Lambeth Baths.
Wednesday, March 16th.	Baptist Chapel, St. Peter's Park, W.
Thursday, March 17th.	Baptist Chapel, Streatham.
Sunday, March 20th.	Unitarian Chapel (Evening Service), W. Croydon.
Wednesday, March 23rd.	Baptist Chapel, Bow.
Monday, March 28th.	Congregational People's Meeting, Wood Green.
Wednesday, March 30th.	Baptist Chapel, Deptford.
Thursday, March 31st.	Baptist Chapel, Marylebone.
Sunday, April 3rd.	Unitarian Chapel (Evening Service), Richmond.
Wednesday, April 6th.	Baptist Chapel, New Barnet.
Thursday, April 7th.	Baptist Chapel, Westbourne Grove.
Tuesday April 12th.	Baptist Chapel, Peckham.
Wednesday, April 13th.	Baptist Chapel, Old Kent Road.
Wed. April 20th or 27th.	Baptist Chapel, Bromley, Kent.

Other engagements are offered, the dates of which are not yet fixed.

## Uganda.

FURTHER news from Uganda has lately been received, in the shape of a long and highly interesting Report to the IMPERIAL BRITISH EAST AFRICA COMPANY, from its representative, Captain F. L. LUGARD. Our last *résumé* of the state of affairs in Uganda, in the *Reporter* for September-October, 1891, recorded the signing of a Treaty by KING M'WANGA, after a long and difficult negotiation, in which the French Roman Catholic Missionaries did their utmost to delay the work taken in hand by Captain LUGARD. We now find that the same tactics were almost productive of a sharp war between Protestants and Romanists, from which the country was only saved by the cool courage and judicious action of Captain LUGARD. Both parties having agreed to accept the decision of the King in the dispute between them, M'WANGA foolishly gave a judgment which was said to be most unfair to the Protestants. Captain LUGARD, however, said he must enforce it, as the Protestants had agreed to abide by the decision. It was certainly a singular position for the representative of a great chartered British company to have to accept, viz., the acting as umpire between two great rival Christian parties. Seeing the state of affairs, Captain LUGARD saw the King privately, and told him that the injustice he was doing to the Protestants would produce a war. M'WANGA declared he had done justice to them, and was immediately challenged to prove it by dividing the large island of Sesse, which lies close to the mainland, on the north-west coast of Victoria Nyanza, and upon which the French have a Mission station. This he declined to do, and was told he must take the consequences. Captain LUGARD then prepared to prevent an outbreak if possible, but here we may give his own words :—

Next morning, early, I found the whole country under arms for war. Masses of armed men were pouring in in every direction and preparing for battle, being drawn up on opposite hills. I called the principal chiefs—my friends—and, hastily falling in, the Soudanese I sent to the King's Hill (close to Kampala) with the Maxim, and took up a position there with Captain WILLIAMS. At my orders, the chiefs sent messengers to the various parties to disperse, and I said I would open fire on any mass of men, no matter of what party, who refused to disperse. The Catholics were very obstinate, and all the influence of their chiefs, who did their utmost and remained with me themselves while they sent messengers to disperse the crowds, could barely disperse them ; finally, the Soudanese, with fixed bayonets on the knee, and the Maxim ready for action, helped to persuade them, and the danger was averted without a shot. Had the war broken out the result would have been terrible, not a drop of rain had fallen for two months, every house would have been burnt, and the Mohammedans had been daily reported as raiding closer and closer in very great force, and would have been in Mengo in two days. The King appeared really grateful, and announced in burza that he had never fully believed in our impartiality and professions till now, but now he was completely convinced that we had come for the sole purpose of bringing peace and order to his country. He told them of our conversation the previous night, and how he had thought of it during the



night and saw that my words were true, and had agreed to divide Sese, and how we had now saved the country when nothing else in the world could have done so, and that without the loss of a single life; and he then publicly declared his intention of following my advice in everything. In the afternoon a similar outbreak took place, the cause being a drunken row between some of the parties, shots were fired and the huts burnt, and in an incredibly short time the country was up again. Again I succeeded in dispersing them, but they all said there would be war in the morning unless the case was settled overnight. The whole of the chiefs assembled in our fort, the case was tried and justice done, and the war averted. But the people remained excessively excited, and a day or two later, some Protestants in an outlying shamba were attacked by the Catholics, and once again the war-drums beat and the country was up. The chiefs were in despair, and inclined to think a fight unavoidable. I insisted on their redoubling their efforts as before, and once again we succeeded, though the matter was so sudden that Captain WILLIAMS and I were holding the King's Hill with twenty Soudanese only before we could be reinforced. This excitement led to daily outrages, and men were murdered, and either party were continually rushing in to me in great excitement to say that large parties of their side had been evicted from their shambas. I now proposed that two laws should be passed in full burza—one, that on no account whatever should any chief evict any man from his shamba without the express order of the burza, and, if he did so, he should be liable to lose his place; second, that all the dwellers on any shamba should do the work of the chief immediately over them, and he again of his superiors, providing the customary food or tribute, &c., entirely irrespective of party or creed. This had a most quieting effect. I then managed to settle one great point of dispute, and paired off others against each other, and effected a settlement. After this things again became much quieter, and remaining grievances were, I was told, slowly being arranged. Just at this time, the French Bishop and his party arrived, and the Bishop wrote me a letter which both Captain WILLIAMS and myself considered extremely ill-advised. Judging, however, that it was the result of misinformation and inaccurate knowledge, and dictated by the idea that there was only one side to the question, I wrote a very temperate reply, and went and called on the priests, pointing out that we were doing our utmost to exert an impartial influence for peace. And after much conversation we restored the cordial relations which had existed before the Bishop's arrival, and which have been maintained—and, I think, considerably increased—since.

It is quite impossible for us to give further extracts from this most interesting report in the limited space at our disposal; but we may call attention to the fact that the heir to the throne—a young boy—is being kept in seclusion, and being trained by the Roman Catholic missionaries, which, in the present state of affairs, is certainly not a favourable omen.

All Captain LUGARD's diplomacy was unable to prevent a collision with the Mohammedans, who, being reinforced by troops from KABA REGA, King of Unyoro, insisted upon fighting, and were very soon utterly routed.

We cannot follow Captain LUGARD and his expedition to Lake Albert Edward and Mount Ruwenzori; but it is satisfactory to know that he has built a very strong stockade upon the slopes of the mountain, which will protect the valuable salt mines from all attacks by KABA REGA, or any other hostile chief.

We conclude our *résumé* with the following extract from an interesting article in *The Times* bearing on this subject :—

It was from the eastern base of Ruwenzori that Captain LUGARD sent off his long and interesting report, which may be taken as absolutely trustworthy. It is evident from this, that, in a remarkably short time, he has succeeded in firmly establishing British influence, not only between Mombasa and the lake, but in troublesome Uganda itself, and the fine region which lies between that and Lake Albert Edward. By this time there can be no doubt that he has extended this influence northwards to Lake Albert, and, if we may trust telegraphic reports, has broken the power of KABA REGA, of Unyoro, the great disturber of the peace of the whole region. Captain LUGARD gives the fullest and most precise details as to what must further be done if British influence is to be secured on a permanent footing here. This involves the sending out of more men and more arms, the establishment of additional forts, and the encouragement of industry. The Company are doing what they can to supply these requirements, but in their present position it will be impossible to go on beyond the end of the present year. The question is, must all that Captain LUGARD has gained be abandoned after that date? Must the whole country once more be given up to anarchy and Slave-raiding? Must the fine prospects of a lucrative market for British produce be given up? Must every consideration of humanity be ignored? Will England, after encouraging the British East Africa Company to go in and take possession on her behalf, decline to lend the needed support at the critical moment? Must we shut our eyes to the duty we have undertaken to perform by putting our hand to the Brussels Act? That is what would happen, that is what we should be doing, if at this particular moment we declined to recognise the Chartered Company as the custodians for the Empire in this most hopeful part of Africa. The one thing needful is a railway from Mombasa to Lake Victoria, with at least one steamer on the lake. Unless Great Britain abandons East Africa altogether, it is difficult to see how the Government can avoid the construction of the railway, unless the Brussels Act is to become for this country a dead letter. The Company are but the custodians of the nation's interests, and so far their presence has been instrumental in saving to this country perhaps the richest, healthiest, and most promising field for commercial enterprise in Africa. It is for the nation to satisfy itself that its interests have been secured by Her Majesty's Government through the employment of the most effective agency for the purpose; failing which, steps should be taken for State intervention to carry out the objects which the advisers of the Crown had in view when they decided, first, to delimit the spheres of international interest in Africa; secondly, to effect the Anglo-German Agreement of 1890 by the cession of Heligoland; thirdly, to declare a protectorate over the Sultanate of Zanzibar; fourthly, to invite all the European Powers to a Conference at Brussels, which has resulted in the ratification of the Brussels Act. It should be remembered that this is no party subject; the measure referred to and the present position of this country in East Africa have been the work of Liberal and Conservative Governments alike. In view of the short time they have been at work and the limited means at their disposal, the Company have really accomplished a great deal, thanks largely to the sterling qualities of Captain LUGARD, who, in an unostentatious way, has done more for Africa and this country's interests in that continent than many whose names are in the mouths of all men. The Company through him and others have placed the vast territory stretching from the East Coast up to the Nile Basin and along the Nile Valley within the grasp of Great Britain. Having done so, they cannot be held to blame if they now retire to the coast and deal

more exclusively than they have hitherto done with the interests directly affecting the general body of the shareholders. Such a retrograde movement would be disgraceful to this country, and could not fail to be disastrous in its results; it would strike a fatal blow at the missionary establishments in Uganda, the one Christian State in Central Africa. The public of this country would have to accept the responsibility for their apathy in omitting to seize the golden opportunity which now presents itself to them. We have passed the first hot stage in the scramble for Africa; we are beginning to see more clearly and coolly where we stand. We have taken our share of the continent, and must now decide, in East Africa, South Africa, and West Africa, what we are going to do with it. Our "Imperial instincts" have been the making of us in the past. Have we ever had to repent of any step we have taken to satisfy these? It is not likely that we shall draw back now and abandon a region which we have taken so much trouble to possess.

Meanwhile, bearing upon this subject, we reprint from the correspondent of the *Standard* in Berlin, under date February 22nd, the following extraordinary statement respecting

#### EMIN PASHA'S JOURNEY.

An Egyptian friend of Dr. FINSCH, who published a letter from EMIN PASHA lately, has sent the following to the *Post*:—"EMIN complained bitterly that the peaceful inhabitants of the territories traversed by him had been incited to violent resistance by the English Captain LUGARD. EMIN even feels compelled to believe that LUGARD and his men took part in the hostilities on three different days. He expresses great satisfaction 'at the prospect of shortly seeing his faithful adherents in Wadelai.'" The letter also states that Dr. FINSCH seems to intend fitting out an armed expedition to Wadelai, and to enlist 200 Soudanese in Egypt. The passage in question runs thus:—

"Dr. FINSCH is barely thirty-five, of medium height, but strongly built. He has made long journeys in the Cape, Chili, and Peru. He is a German-American, a botanist, and an ornithologist, and he has inherited several million dollars from his father. The great expedition he is now fitting out is destined for Lake Albert and Wadelai, where EMIN probably now is. On the 18th inst. he will beg an audience of ABBAS PASHA. If he succeeds in gaining the young Khedive for his enterprise, he will start from Malindi on his way to EMIN early in July. He will offer Major von WISSMANN the command of the expedition. The 200 Soudanese whom he hopes to enlist, with the Khedive's permission, are to carry small-bore magazine rifles. Dr. FINSCH has bought four tame elephants for a thousand pounds each in Bombay. They are to carry the guns and other heavy baggage."

#### Emin Pasha on the Slave-Trade.

DURING my march to the Albert Nyanza I saw and heard fearful things. I followed the track of one of these robbers, named BEN CHALIA, for six days, and in that time counted fifty-one fresh corpses worn to skeletons, thirty-nine of them with their skulls beaten in. If I had only arrived here eight days sooner, my good people would have succeeded in preventing or punishing such inhuman cruelties. About 1,200 Slaves, twenty to thirty of both sexes chained all together, are said to have been dragged to Mengo. Twenty-seven of them, among them four women, met us half-starved. They had succeeded in escaping.



## Victoria-Nyanza Railway.

### PROPOSED GRANT FOR SURVEY OF LINE.

As we go to press, the very satisfactory announcement is made that the Government proposal for a grant of £20,000 for the survey of a proposed line of railway from Mombasa to the Eastern shores of the Victoria-Nyanza has been carried in the House of Commons by a large majority. (*Division List is published below*).

The BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY has always looked upon the making of this railway as the commencement of an important line of policy for opening up Central Africa to legitimate commerce, thus materially checking the Slave-trade.

On these grounds the Society memorialised LORD SALISBURY last October (see *Reporter* for September-October, 1891), urging that Uganda should not be abandoned, and that a railway should be constructed from the Coast to the Lake.

In continuation of this policy the Society has lately taken steps to interest the public in the question, in view of the notice that the proposal would very shortly be laid before Parliament. Two Members of the Committee, Mr. ALFRED E. PEASE, M.P., and Mr. SYDNEY BUXTON, M.P., expressed their readiness to support the motion, and other Members of the House upheld the view taken by Mr. PEASE, that the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY should send out a short general letter to Members of the Opposition, urging them to vote for the grant on Anti-Slavery grounds.

With this object, and at a few hours' notice, over 200 copies of a short general letter were forwarded from the offices of the Society, enclosing a copy of the Committee's address to LORD SALISBURY, of October, 1891, which it is unnecessary to reprint here. Copies were also sent to the Press.

The Society has not advocated the carrying out of a survey of the Mombasa Nyanza Railway on the ground that this route is the usual one taken by Slave caravans, but on the broad, general principle declared in Article 1 of the General Act of the Brussels Conference, that, amongst others, "the most effective means for counteracting the Slave-trade in the interior of Africa, are \* \* \* "The construction of roads, and particularly of railways," &c.

We trust that if this railway is ever constructed it will only be one of several lines from the Coast to the dark interior, and that they will be the means of carrying out the policy, so dear to all true friends of Africa, of substituting the untiring steam-horse, for the poor, tortured human beasts of burden.

It is evident that the large majority by which this vote was carried is acceptable to friends of the Anti-Slavery cause, from the congratulations which have been received by telegraph, letters, and *viva voce*.

It must have been a touching and interesting sight to see the Right Hon. C. P. VILLIERS, M.P.—Father of the House of Commons—now in his 90th

year, braving the extraordinary inclemency of the weather, and coming to the House to record his vote in favour of what, he very properly considered, an Anti-Slavery policy. The thanks of Abolitionists are certainly due to this veteran friend of the Slave, who paired in favour of the motion.

Mr. ALFRED E. PEASE made three ineffectual attempts to speak in favour of the grant; and, as the matter was talked out on the first night, he was unable to record his vote on the Government side, owing to an appointment in Yorkshire on the following day. The Right Hon. W. E. GLADSTONE and the Right Hon. Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT spoke against the measure, but walked out of the House before the division.

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Question put accordingly, "That a sum, not exceeding £20,000, be granted to HER MAJESTY to defray the charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1892, as a grant in aid of the cost of preliminary surveys for a Railway from the Coast to Lake Victoria Nyanza." The Committee divided—Ayes, 211; Noes, 113.

#### AYES.

Addison, John  
 Agg-Gardner, James T.  
 Ainslie, William George  
 Ambrose, William  
 Anstruther H. T. (St. Andrews)  
 Anstruther, Col. Lloyd (Suffolk)  
 Ashmead-Bartlett, Ellis  
 Bain, Sir James  
 Baird, John George Alexander  
 Balfour, Rt. Hon. A. J. (Manchester)  
 Balfour, Gerald William (Leeds)  
 Barclay, James William  
 Barnes, Alfred  
 Barry, Francis Tress (Windsor)  
 Bartley, George C. T.  
 Barton, Dunbar Plunket  
 Baumann, Arthur Antony  
 Beach, Rt. Hon. Sir M. H. (Bristol)  
 Beadel, William James  
 Bentinck, G. C. (Penryn)  
 Bethell, Commander  
 Bickford-Smith, William  
 Biddulph, Michael  
 Bigwood, James  
 Birkbeck, Sir Edward  
 Blane, Alexander  
 Blundell, Col. Henry Blundell H.  
 Borthwick, Sir Aigernon  
 Boulnois, Edmund  
 Bowles, Capt. Henry Ferryman

Bridgeman, Col. Hon. Francis C.  
 Brodrick, Hon. St. John  
 Brookfield, A. Montagu  
 Brown, Alex. H. (Salop)  
 Bruce, Gainsford (Finsbury)  
 Burdett-Coutts, W.  
 Burghley, Lord  
 Buxton, Sydney Charles  
 Campbell, Henry (Fermanagh)  
 Campbell, James A. (Glasgow Univ.)  
 Cavendish, Victor Christian W.  
 Chamberlain, Rt. Hon. J. (Birmingham)  
 Chamberlain, Richard (Islington)  
 Chaplin, Rt. Hon. Henry  
 Charrington, Spencer  
 Clarke, Sir Edward (Plymouth)  
 Coghill, Douglas Henry  
 Collings, Jesse  
 Conway, Michael  
 Cook, C. W. Radcliffe  
 Corbett, Archibald C. (Glasgow)  
 Cornwallis, F. S. Wykeham  
 Cranborne, Viscount  
 Cross, Herbert Shepherd (Bolton)  
 Cross, Hon. Wm. H. (Liverpool)  
 Crossley, Sir Savile B. (Suffolk)  
 Crossman, General Sir William  
 Currie, Sir Donald  
 Curzon, Viscount (Bucks.)  
 Cust, Henry John Cokayne

- Darling, Charles John  
Dawnay, Col. Hon. L. P.  
Dixon-Hartland, Fred. Dixon  
Dorington, Sir John Edward  
Dunn, William  
Dyke, Rt. Hon. Sir William Hart  
Edwards-Moss, Tom C.  
Egerton, Hon. Tatton  
Elliot, Hon. Arthur R. D. (Roxburghs)  
Elton, Charles Isaac  
Eyre, Colonel Henry  
Feilden, Lieut.-Gen. (Lancashire, N.)  
Fergusson, Rt. Hon. Sir J. (Manchester)  
Field, Admiral  
Fielden, Thomas (Lancashire, S.E.)  
Finlay, Robert  
Fisher, William Hayes  
Fitzgerald, J. Gubbins (Longford)  
Fitzgerald, R. Uniacke Penrose  
Fitzwilliam, Hon. W. H. W.  
Fitz Wygram, Sir Frederick  
Fletcher, Sir Henry  
Forwood, Arthur Bower  
Fry, Lewis (Bristol)  
Fulton, James Forrest  
Gathorne-Hardy, Hon. A. (Sussex)  
Gathorne-Hardy, Hon. J. S. (Kent)  
Gedge, Sydney  
Gibbs, Henry Hucks  
Gilliat, John Saunders  
Goldsworthy, Major-General  
Gorst, Rt. Hon. Sir John Eldon  
Goschen, Rt. Hon. George Joachim  
Gray, Charles Wing (Essex)  
Gunter, Colonel  
Hall, Sir Charles (Cambridgeshire)  
Hamilton, Rt. Hon. Lord G. (Middlesex)  
Hanbury, Robert William  
Hanson, Sir Reginald  
Hardcastle, Frank (Lancashire, S.E.)  
Harland, Sir Edward James  
Hayden, Luke Patrick  
Heaton, John Henniker  
Heneage, Rt. Hon. Edward  
Herman-Hodge, Robert Trotter  
Hervey, Lord Francis  
Hill, Rt. Hon. Lord Arthur (Down)  
Hill, Col. Edward Stock (Bristol)  
Hoare, Edward Brodie (Hampstead)
- Houldsworth, Sir William Henry  
Howard, Joseph  
Howorth, Henry Hoyle  
Hozier, James Henry Cecil  
Hunt, Frederick Seager  
Hunter, Sir Guyer (Hackney)  
Isaacs, Lewis Henry  
Isaacson, Frederick Wootton  
Jackson, Rt. Hon. William Lawies  
Jeffreys, Arthur Frederick  
Johnston, William  
Kenrick, William  
Kerans, Frederick Harold  
Kimber, Henry  
Knowles, Lees  
Lafone, Alfred  
Lawrence, Sir Trevor (Surrey)  
Lawrence, W. F. (Liverpool)  
Lea, Thomas (Londonderry)  
Legh, Thos. Wodehouse (Lancashire)  
Leighton, Stanley  
Lennox, Rt. Hon. Lord W. C. G.  
Llewellyn, Evan Henry  
Loder, Gerald Walter Erskine  
Long, Walter Hume  
Lowther, Rt. Hon. James (Kent)  
Lowther, James W. (Cumberland)  
MacInnes, Miles  
Maclean, James Mackenzie  
Madden, Dodgson H. (Dublin Univ.)  
Maguire, James Rochfort  
Makins, Colonel  
Malcolm, Col. John Wingfield  
Maple, John Blundell  
Marriott, Rt. Hon. Sir W. T.  
Maskelyne, M. H. Story-  
Mather, William  
Matthews, Rt. Hon. Henry  
Maxwell, Sir Herbert E.  
Milvain, Thomas  
Morgan, W. Pritchard (Merthyr)  
Morrell, George Herbert  
Morrison, Walter  
Mount, William George.  
Mulholland, Henry Lyle  
Muncaster, Lord  
Murray, Andrew Graham  
Noble, Wilson  
Nolan, Joseph (Louth)



Norris, Edward Samuel  
 Northcote, Hon. Sir H. Stafford  
 Paget, Sir Richard Horner  
 Parker, Hon. Francis (Oxfordshire)  
 Pearson, Sir Charles John  
 Pelly, Sir Lewis  
 Penn, John  
 Plunket, Rt. Hon. David R.  
 Powell, Francis Sharp  
 Price, Captain (Devonport)  
 Puleston, Sir John Henry  
 Quilter, William Cuthbert  
 Rasch, Major Frederic Carne  
 Ritchie, Rt. Hon. Chas. Thomson  
 Rollit, Sir Albert Kaye  
 Round, James  
 Royden, Thomas Bland  
 Salt, Thomas  
 Sandys, Lieut.-Col. Thomas Myles  
 Selwin-Ibbetson, Rt. Hon. Sir H.  
 Seton-Karr, Henry  
 Shaw-Stewart, M. H. (Renfrew)  
 Sidebottom, William (Derbyshire)  
 Smith, Abel (Herts)  
 Smith, Hon. W. F. D. (Strand)  
 Somervell, James  
 Spencer Ernest (W. Bromwich)

Tellers for the Ayes—Mr. Akers-Douglas and Sir William Walrond.

Stanhope, Rt. Hon. E. (Lincolnshire)  
 Sturt, Hon. Humphry Napier  
 Sutherland, Sir Thomas (Greenock)  
 Talbot, John Gilbert  
 Taylor, Francis  
 Temple, Sir Richard  
 Theobald, James  
 Thorburn, Walter  
 Tollemache, Henry James  
 Tomlinson, Wm. Edward Murray  
 Tyler, Sir Henry Whatley  
 Walsh, Hon. Arthur Henry John  
 Watson, James  
 Webster, R. G. (St. Pancras)  
 Webster, Sir R. E. (Isle of Wight)  
 Weymouth, Viscount  
 Whitmore, Charles Algernon  
 Williams, Joseph Powell- (Birmingham)  
 Wilson, Sir Samuel (Portsmouth)  
 Winn, Hon. Rowland  
 Wodehouse, Edmond Robert  
 Wolmer, Viscount  
 Wortley, Charles Beilby Stuart-  
 Wroughton, Philip  
 Wyndham, George  
 Young, Charles Edward Baring

#### NOES.

Abraham, William (Limerick)  
 Acland, A. H. Dyke (Yorkshire)  
 Allison, Robert Andrew  
 Austin, John  
 Balfour, J. Spencer (Burnley)  
 Ballantine, William Henry Walter  
 Beaufoy, Mark Hanbury  
 Birrell, Augustine  
 Bolton, Jos. Cheney (Stirlingshire)  
 Brand, Hon. Arthur George  
 Buchanan, Thomas Ryburn  
 Burt, Thomas  
 Caldwell, J.  
 Channing, Francis Allston  
 Clark, Dr. G. B. (Caithness-shire)  
 Coleridge, Hon. Bernard  
 Compton, Earl (Barnsley)  
 Condon, Thomas Joseph  
 Conybeare, Charles A. Vansittart

Cozens-Hardy, Herbert Hardy  
 Craig, James  
 Crawford, Donald  
 Cremer, William Randal  
 Crilly, Daniel  
 Davey, Sir Horace  
 Deasy, John  
 Dillon, John  
 Ellis, James (Leicestershire)  
 Esmonde, Sir Thomas  
 Esslemont, Peter  
 Evans, Samuel T. (Glamorgan)  
 Farquharson, Dr. R. (Aberdeenshire)  
 Fenwick, Charles  
 Flynn, James Christopher  
 Gardner, Herbert  
 Gilhooly, James  
 Gourley, Edward Temperley  
 Gower, George Granville Leveson

Grove, Sir Thomas Fraser	O'Brien, William (Cork, N.E.)
Haldane, Richard Burdon	O'Connor, Arthur (Donegal)
Hayne, Charles Seale	O'Connor, John (Tipperary)
Howell, George	O'Connor, T. P. (Liverpool)
Illingworth, Alfred	Paulton, James Mellor
Jacoby, James Alfred	Provand, Andrew Dryburgh
James, Hon. Walter H. (Gateshead)	Reid, Robert Threshie (Dumfries)
Keay, John Seymour	Roberts, John Bryn (Eifion)
Kilbride, Denis	Roberts, John (Flint Burghs)
Kinloch, Sir John George Smyth	Robinson, Thomas (Gloucester)
Knox, Edmund Francis Vesey	Roby, Henry John
Labouchere, Henry	Rowlands, W. Bowen (Cardiganshire)
Lambert, George (Devon)	Samuelson, G. Blundell (Glo'stershire)
Lawson, Sir Wilfrid (Cumberland)	Sexton, Thomas
Leake, Robert	Stack, John
Lefevre, Rt. Hon. George Shaw	Stanhope, Hon. P. (Wednesbury)
Leng, John	Stern, Sydney James
Leon, Herbert Samuel	Stuart, James (Shoreditch)
Lloyd-George, David	Sullivan, Donal (Westmeath)
Lockwood, Frank	Sullivan, T. D. (Dublin)
Lyell, Leonard	Sutherland, A. (Sutherlandshire)
MacNeill, John Gordon Swift	Tanner, Charles Kearns
M'Arthur, Alexander (Leicester)	Thomas, Abel (Carmarthen, E.)
M'Cartan, Michael	Thomas, David Alfred (Merthyr)
M'Carthy, Justin (Londonderry)	Trevelyan, Rt. Hon. Sir George Otto
M'Donald, Dr. Roderick	Tuite, James
M'Ewan, William	Wallace, Robert
M'Lagan, Peter	Warmington, Cornelius M.
Maden, John H. (Lancashire, N.E.)	Wayman, Thomas
Mappin, Sir Frederick Thorpe	Webb, Alfred
Morgan, Rt. Hon. G. O. (Denbighshire)	Weston, Sir Joseph Dodge
Morgan, J. Lloyd (Carmarthen)	Whitbread, Samuel
Morley, Arnold (Nottingham)	Will, John Shiress
Morley, Rt. Hon. J. (Newcastle)	Wilson, John (Lanark)
Morton, Alpheus Cleophas	Winterbotham, Arthur Brend
Neville, Ralph	Woodhead, Joseph
O'Brien, James F. X. (Mayo)	Wright, Caleb (Lancashire, S.W.)
O'Brien, P. J. (Tipperary)	

Tellers for the Noes—Mr. Summers and Mr. Picton.

### Gessi Pasha and the Slave-Trade in the Soudan.

(Four hundred thousand Slaves sold into Egypt and Turkey in Fourteen Years).

FROM the recently published work, *Seven Years in the Soudan*, by ROMOLO GESSI PASHA (*Sampson Low, Marston & Co., London, 1892*), we extract a few notes on the Soudan Slave-trade, which show, as regards Egypt, a state of things vastly different from that embodied in the financial report lately published in the press. Something has certainly been achieved since the days

when GESSI wrote ; and we are glad to notice that the work of the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY was fully recognised by that remarkable man, the most famous of GORDON's lieutenants.

#### COMMENCEMENT OF THE SOUDAN SLAVE-TRADE.

"The Slave-trade was hitherto unknown in the Soudan of the Nile, and only began in 1860. This new and infamous traffic soon proved most lucrative, and in a short time those who carried it on became millionaires. In the brief space of fourteen years more than four hundred thousand men, women and children were taken from their native country and sold in Egypt and Turkey, while thousands and thousands were massacred in the defence of their families !

"Other speculators of Khartoum joined themselves to the first in taking part in these raids. They armed some *nugars* (large sailing boats), and undertook expeditions into the territory of the natives. The latter were surprised during the night, the villages were burnt, the men killed, the women, children, and ivory carried off. The boats being freighted, they returned to Khartoum, where the spoils of such raids found ready purchasers. These events took place openly, and the authorities of Khartoum were unable to hinder them ; and even to this day the evil, though in a more hidden form, still exists.

#### PROTEST BY THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

"Europe was not, however, indifferent, especially England, where the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY was formed, composed of the most influential personages. The continual protests of these philanthropists, and articles published in the leading daily papers, induced the Government to demand of the Viceroy that an end should be put to this infamous traffic. The then Viceroy, an enlightened Prince, gave orders for the immediate suppression of Slavery ; but the evil was too deeply rooted, and those who had to execute the orders of the Government were directly interested in the shameful trade, attracted by the enormous gains it offered. The immense distance that separates Cairo from Khartoum permitted them to continue this traffic despite every prohibition.

"Enormous sums were expended in vain, for the Governors who succeeded each other in the Soudan sent misleading reports, and the Government, betrayed by its own officers in its turn, unwittingly deceived all Europe.

"A report of mine made to the Governor-General, which the reader will find further on, will show that Slavery, plunder and massacre still continued in August, 1874.

#### BUYING SLAVES TO FREE THEM INCREASES THE TRADE.

"The Khedive ISMAIL, wishing to avoid fresh bloodshed, and also eager to put an end to such ignominy, came to terms with the traders, and bought their stations, munition, cattle, ivory, and Slaves, setting these last at liberty. But this generous attempt was of no avail ; the traders, after having pocketed the money, established new stations further on, and resumed their rapine as before. The officials cheated the Government, while the latter, wishing to give proof of its good intentions, did not shrink from any sacrifice."

GESSI then describes the expeditions undertaken by Sir SAMUEL BAKER and the late General GORDON for the suppression of the Slave-trade ; but these are now matters of history, and have already been largely treated in the *Reporter*. The present volume, though late in the field, will hold its own with any that have been written on the subject, and should be read in connection with General GORDON's most interesting journals.



### Obituary.

OUR obituary columns for the first two months of this year are unusually heavy, and contain notices of deaths of public as well as private interest; indeed, the Society has probably never had to record so sad an experience in so short a time.

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#### H.R.H. THE DUKE OF CLARENCE.

*Obit. January 14.*

THE following Minute has been forwarded by the Committee of the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY to H.R.H. THE PRINCE OF WALES, Patron of the Society, on the sad and sudden death of his eldest son.

BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

*Minute of Committee held February 5, 1892.*

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE LATE DUKE OF CLARENCE AND AVONDALE.

*Resolved:* "That the expression of the Committee's sympathy and condolence be respectfully offered to HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE PRINCE OF WALES, Patron of the Society, and to HER ROYAL HIGHNESS THE PRINCESS OF WALES and their family upon the death of the late DUKE OF CLARENCE AND AVONDALE, who was so suddenly struck down at a moment when the whole nation was about to rejoice in the approaching marriage festivities of the young Prince and his affianced bride."

By order of the Committee,

CHAS. H. ALLEN,

55, New Broad Street, London, E.C.

*Secretary.*

ACKNOWLEDGMENT.

MARLBOROUGH HOUSE.

SIR FRANCIS KNOLLYS is desired to convey to the Members of the Committee of the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY the sincere thanks of the PRINCE and PRINCESS OF WALES for the warm sympathy they have expressed on the occasion of their Royal Highnesses' great bereavement.

*22nd February, 1892.*

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#### HIS HIGHNESS TEWFIK PASHA, KHEDIVE OF EGYPT.

WITH great regret we heard of the death of the liberal-minded KHEDIVE OF EGYPT, whose influence has, we believe, always been exerted in favour of putting a stop to the Slave-trade, as we know it has also been in the matter of various other reforms which have been carried out under his rule.

We had the honour of hearing from the KHEDIVE's own lips, a very few years ago, that he abhorred the cruelties caused by the Slave-trade in various parts of Africa, that he was glad to say the traffic was no longer carried on in Egypt Proper, and that the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY had his warmest sympathy in the crusade against Slavery and the Slave-trade, in which it had so long and honourably been engaged.

### HIS EMINENCE CARDINAL MANNING.

*Obiit. January 14, 1892.*

*Minute of Committee of* BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

*Resolved:* "That the Committee have heard with deep regret of the sudden death of their late respected colleague, His Eminence Cardinal MANNING, who, for nearly ten years as a Member of the Committee, showed unflagging interest in the work of the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY for the abolition of Slavery and the Slave-trade throughout the world."

### BISHOP CROWTHER.

THE dead Bishop was indeed a remarkable man. Despite his great age, those who have heard him preach to crowded congregations, in aid of the Church Missionary Society, can testify that his "natural powers" were scarcely "abated." When listening to his earnest, eloquent English words, it was not easy to realise that the ready speaker was once a Slave boy. In 1821 he lived with his parents in an African town called Oshogun, in the Yoruba country. Little ADJAI, when eleven years of age, was taken prisoner, along with his sister and mother, by some Mohammedans, who attacked the town and killed many of the inhabitants. Among them ADJAI's father was slain. The boy and girl fell into the hands of one chief, and the mother and babe into those of another. The boy was presently exchanged for a horse, but shortly was restored to his master, because the horse proved a failure. Coming to a place called Dadda with the rest of his master's property, he met again his mother and sisters, and spent three months near them, seeing them occasionally. But soon he had to stand in the Slave-market, and was sold and re-sold several times over for paltry sums, and even sometimes for spirits. No wonder he was wretched. He wished sometimes that he were dead, and sought death. Coming to Lagos, a large seaport town, he was purchased by a Portuguese Slave merchant, and was put on board a Slave ship bound for America. It seemed now as if his future was sealed. Once transported to a distant shore, ADJAI must consider himself a Slave for life. But deliverance came. On the very next day after quitting Lagos the Slaver was captured by two English ships of war, which were cruising on the coast to check the Slave-trade. This was in 1822. He was taken to Sierra Leone, and educated there by the Church Missionary Society. He was baptised in 1825, was afterwards employed as a teacher, and in 1843, having been ordained, he was sent to his own country, Yoruba, to assist in the conversion of his people. In 1857 he was appointed leader of the New Niger Mission, and on St. Peter's day, 1864, he was consecrated at Canterbury Cathedral the first Bishop of the Niger. Since that date his whole time has been devoted to the conversion of the heathen in those regions.

### COLONEL GRANT.

*Obiit. Feb. 11.*

COLONEL GRANT belonged to the race of the pioneers of African discovery. It was the men of the 'fifties and 'sixties—LIVINGSTONE, BURTON, SPEKE, and GRANT—who broke through the crust of Africa, so to speak, re-discovered the discoveries of the Greeks and Phœnicians, and rendered possible the wider explorations of the later years. CAMERON, STANLEY, THOMPSON, BAKER,

EMIN PASHA, and others, have since gone deeper into the continent, so that the almost virgin soil trodden by SPEKE and GRANT is now familiar, and even hackneyed, ground. But it was the pioneers who showed the way; and GRANT did his work on the great journey well, thoroughly, and scientifically.

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SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL, M.P.

*Obit. February 17.*

THE death of Sir GEORGE CAMPBELL is one that should be chronicled in an Anti-Slavery record, for although his career has been of late mostly political, his good work in India during the Orissa Famine Commission will probably outlive his Parliamentary fame. Although the Society did not altogether agree with the course he took with regard to the Fugitive Slave Circular, yet it always found him a good friend to the Anti-Slavery cause, and he was always ready to assist the Society by questions in Parliament. *White and Black: Outcome of a Visit to the United States*, written by Sir GEORGE CAMPBELL, in 1879, is a valuable work, and has already been reviewed in these columns. We cannot refrain from repeating the admirable quotation from his work with which our review concluded:—"My advice would certainly be—To the blacks, in America: 'Stay at home, and make the best of an excellent situation.' To the whites: 'Do all you can to keep these people, conciliate them and make the most of them.'"

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MRS. SAMUEL GURNEY,

widow of the late President of the BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, died at Brighton, in January, of the influenza epidemic.

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MRS. JOSEPH ALLEN,

wife of the Treasurer of the Society, died at Sidmouth, from pneumonia following influenza, on February 5th, aged 50.

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WE regret to notice the deaths of several friends and subscribers to the Society, amongst them the Rev. R. L. CARPENTER, B.A., Bridport; Mr. BENJAMIN SCOTT, Chamberlain of the City of London, whose grandfather was treasurer to one of the very early Anti-Slavery societies, before the days of CLARKSON; and Colonel TURBERVILLE, Life Member of the Society.

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"Remember them that are in bonds."

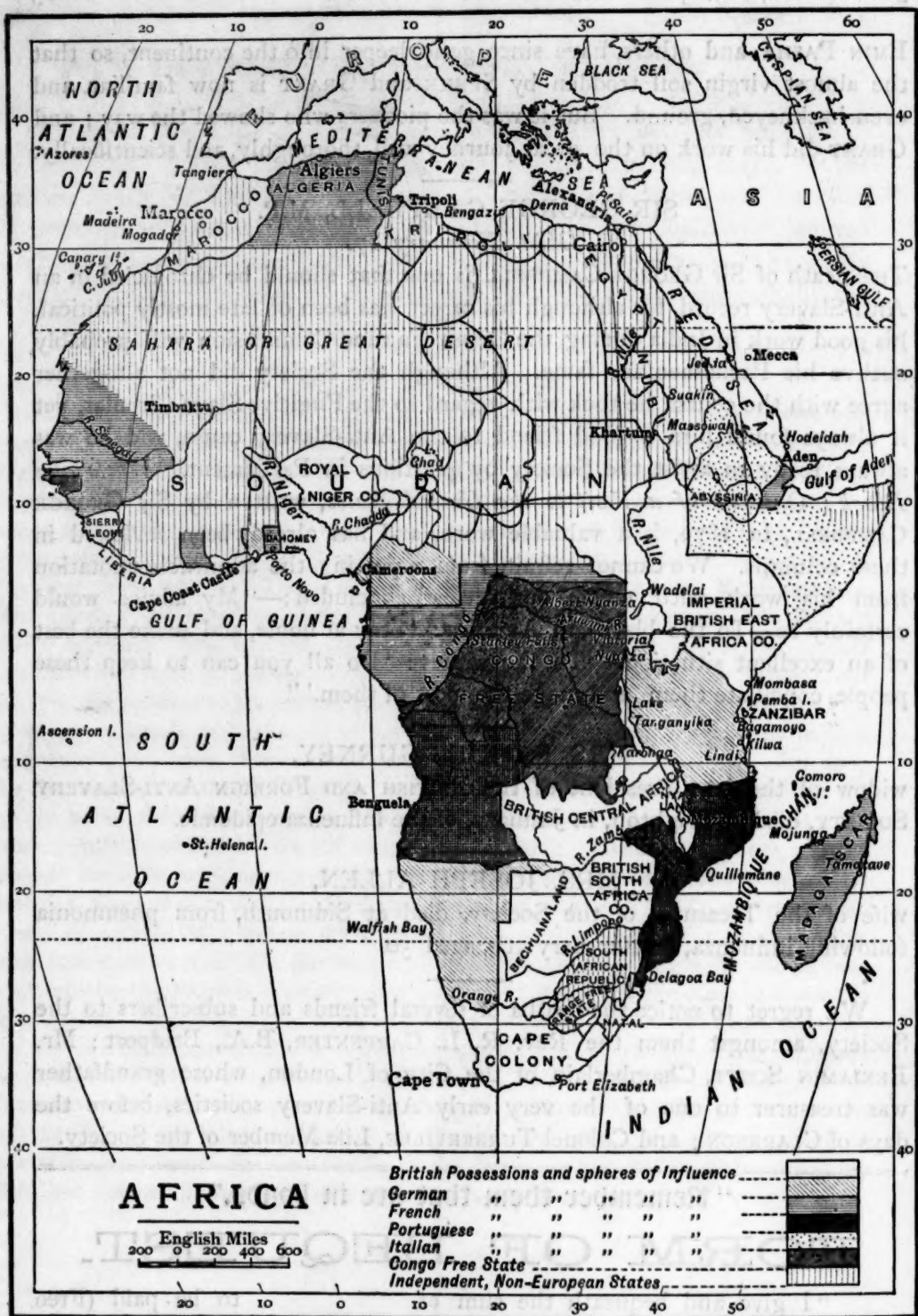
## FORM OF BEQUEST.

"I give and bequeath the sum of \_\_\_\_\_ to be paid (Free of Legacy Duty), out of such parts of my personal estate as can be lawfully applied for that purpose, unto the Treasurer for the time being of

**The British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society,**

to be at the disposal of the Committee for the time being of the said Society."





Stanford's Geog. Estab. London

MAP SHOWING THE EUROPEAN SPHERES OF INFLUENCE ON THE AFRICAN CONTINENT.

Printed by ABRAHAM KINGDON & NEWNHAM, 12, Finsbury Street, Moorgate, E.C.